THE COVRTIER OF COVNTE BALDESSAR CASTILIO.

Diuided into foure Bookes.

VERIE NECESSARIE AND profitable for young Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, abiding in Court, Palace, or Place. Translated into English.

*By Tho. Hobby.

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VNTO THE REuerende and Honourable Lord *Michaell de Sylua*, Bishop of *Viseo*.

AFTER the Lorde *Guidubaldo* of *Montefeltro* Duke of *Vrbin* was departed out of this life, certaine other Gentlemen & I that had bene seruants to him, continued in seruice with Duke *Frãcescomaria Della Rouere*, his heire and successor in the state: And while the sauour of the vertues of Duke *Guidubaldo* was fresh in my mind, & the great delight I tooke in those yeares in the louing company of so excellent personages as then were in the Court of *Vrbin*: I was prouoked by the memorie thereof to write these bookes of the Courtier. The which I accomplished in a fewe dayes, minding in time to amend those faults that sprung of the desire that I had speedily to pay this debt. But fortune now many yeares hath alwaies kept mee vnder in such continuall traueiles, that I could neuer get leisure to bring it to the passe that my feeble iudgement might

Francesco. maria della Rouere.

be throughly ſatisfied withall. At ſuch time therefore as I was in *Spaine*, being aduertiſed out of *Italy* how the Ladie *Vittoria Colonna* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*, vnto whome in foretime I had graunted a copie of this Booke, contrary to her promiſe, had made a great part of it to be copied out: it greeued mee ſomewhat whether I would or no, ſtanding in doubt of the ſundrie inconueniences that in the like caſes may happen. Yet had I a hope that the wit and wiſedome of that Ladie (whoſe troth I haue alwaies had in reuerence, as a matter from aboue) was ſufficient to prouide, not to be harmefull vnto me my being obedient to her commaundement. At laſt I heard an inckling that part of the booke was riefe in *Naples* in many mens handes: and as men are alwaies deſirous of noueltie, it was thought that they attempted to imprint it. Wherfore I, amazed at this miſchance, determined with my ſelfe to ouerlooke by and by that little in the booke that time ſerued me thereto, with intent to ſet it abroade, thinking it leſſe hurtfull to haue it ſomewhat corrected with mine owne hande, then much mangled with an other mans doing.

Therefore to haue this my purpoſe take effect, I tooke in hand to reade it ouer afreſh, and ſodainly at the firſt bluſh by reaſon of the tytle, I tooke no little grief, which in proceeding forward increaſed much more, remembring that the greater part of them that are brought in to reaſon, are now dead. For beſide thoſe that are mentioned in the Proheme of the laſt booke, M. *Alphonſus Arioſto* himſelfe is dead, vnto whom the booke was dedicated, a noble yong Gentleman,

M. Alphonſus Arioſto.

tleman, discreet, full of good cõditions, and apt vnto euery thing meet for one liuing in Court. Likewise Duke *Iulian de Medicis*, whose goodnesse and noble curtesie deserued to haue bene a longer time enioyed of the worlde. Also M. *Bernarde*, Cardinall of S. *Maria* in *Portico*, who for his liuely and pleasaunt prompnesse of witte, was most acceptable vnto as many as knew him, and dead he is. The Lord *Octauian Fregoso* is also dead, a man in our times verie rare, of a most noble courage, of a pure life, full of goodnesse, witte, wisedome and courtesie, and a verie friend vnto honour and vertue, and so worthie praise, that his very enemies could say none other of him, then what sounded to his renowme: And the mishappes he hath borne out with great steadinesse, were sufficient inough to giue euidence, that Fortune, as shee hath alwaies bene, so is shee in these daies also an enemy to vertue. There are dead in like maner many other that are named in this Booke, vnto whome a man would haue thought that nature had promised a verie long life. But the thing that shoulde not be rehearsed without teares is, that the Dutchesse she is also dead. And if my mind be troubled with the losse of so many friendes and good Lordes of mine, that haue left mee in this life, as it were in a wilderneesse full of sorrow: reason would it should with much more griefe beare the heauines of the Dutches death, then of all the rest, because she was more worth then all the rest, and I was much more bound vnto her thẽ vnto all the rest. Therfore for leesing time to bestow that of dutie I ought vpõ the memory of so excellent a Lady, and of the rest

Duke of Nemour.

Cardinall of S. Maria in Portico.

Duke of Genua.

Dutchesse of Vrbin.

that

that are no more in life, prouoked alſo by the ieopardie of the booke, I haue made him to be imprinted, and ſet foorth in ſuch ſort, as the ſhortneſſe of time hath ſerued me. And becauſe you had no acquaintance, neither with the Dutches, nor with any of the reſt that are dead, ſauing onely with Duke *Iulian*, and with the Cardinall of *S. Maria* in *Portico*, while they liued, therefore to the intent, in what I can doe, you may haue acquaintance with them after their death, I ſend vnto you this booke, as a purtraict in painting of the Court of *Vrbin*: Not of the handiworke of *Raphael*, or *Michael Angelo*, but of an vnknowne Painter, and that can do no more but draw the principall lines, without ſetting forth the truth with bewtifull colours, or making it appeare by the Art of Proſpectiue that it is not. And where I haue enforced my ſelfe to ſet forth togither with the communication the properties & conditions of ſuch as are named in it, I cõfeſſe I haue not onely not fully expreſſed, but not ſo much as touched the vertues of the Dutcheſſe. Becauſe not only my ſtyle is vnſufficient to expreſſe them, but alſo mine vnderſtanding to cõceiue thẽ. And if in this behalfe, or in any other matter woorthie reprehenſion, (as I knowe well there want not many in the booke) fault be found in me, I will not ſpeake againſt the trueth. But becauſe men ſometime take ſuch delight in finding fault, that they finde fault alſo in that deſerueth not reproofe, vnto ſome that blame mee becauſe I haue not followed *Boccaccio*, nor bound my ſelf to the maner of the *Tuſcane* ſpeech vſed now adaies, I wil not let to ſay, for all *Boccaccio* was of a fine wit, according to thoſe times,

Boccaccio. Tuſcane tongue.

and

and in some part writte with great aduisement and diligence: yet did he write much better when he let himselfe be guided with wit and his owne naturall inclinatiõ, without any other maner study or regard to polliſh his writings, then when with all trauaile and bent study he enforced himselfe to be most fine and eloquent. For his very fauourers affirme that in his own matters he was far deceiued in iudgement, litle regarding such things as haue gottẽ him a name, and greatly esteeming that is nothing worth. Had I then followed that trade of writing which is blamed in him by such as praise him in the rest, I could not haue eschewed the very same reproofes that are laid to *Boccaccio* himselfe as touching this. And I had deserued so much the more, for that his error was then, in beleeuing he did well, and mine should be now, in knowing I do amisse. Againe, if I had followed that trade, which is reckned of many to be good, and was litle regarded of him, I should appear in following it to disagree from the iudgement of him whom I followed: the which thing (in mine opinion) were an inconuenience. And beside if this respect had not moued me, I could not followe him in the matter, forsomuch as he neuer wrote any thing in Treatise like vnto the bookes of the Courtier: And in the tongue, I ought not in mine aduise, bicause the force or rule of speech doth cõsist more in vse, then in any thing else: & it is alwaies a vice to vse words that are not in common speech. Therfore it was not meete I should haue vsed many that are in *Boccaccio*, which in his time were vsed, and now are out of vse among the Tuscanes themselues. Neither would I bind my

selfe to the maner of the Tuscane tongue in vse now adaies, becausse the practising amõg sundry nations, hath alwaies bene of force to transport from one to an other (in a maner) as merchandise, so also newe words, which afterward remaine or decaie, according as they are admitted by custom or refused. And this beside the record of ancient writers, is to be euidently seene in *Boccaccio*, in whom there are so many words Frensh, Spanish, and prouinciall, and some perhappes not well vnderstood of the Tuscanes in these dayes, that who so woulde picke them out, should make the booke much the lesser. And bicause (in mine opinion) the kinde of speech of the other noble cities of *Italy*, where there resort men of wisedome, vnderstanding & eloquence, which practise great matters of gouernmẽt of states, of letters, arms, & diuers affaires, ought not altogether to be neglected for the words which in these places are vsed in cõmon speech: I suppose that they may be vsed well ynough, writing such as haue a grace & comelinesse in the pronuntiation, and commonly counted good & of proper significatiõ, though they be not Tuscan, and haue also their origion out of *Italy*. Beside this in Tuscane, they vse many words cleane corrupt from the Latine, the which in *Lombardie* and in the other partes of *Italy*, remaine whole and without anye change at all, & they are so vniuersally vsed of euery man, that of the best sort they are allowed for good, and of the common people vnderstood without difficultie. Therfore I think I haue committed no error at all. If in writing I haue vsed any of these, & rather taken the whole and pure worde of mine owne

New words.

Deriued words from the Latine.

Country,

Country, then the corrupt and mangled of an other. Neyther doth that rule seeme good vnto me, where many say the vulgar toong, the lesse it is like vnto the Latin, the more beautiful it is: And I cãnot perceiue why more authoritie should cõsist in one custom of speech, thẽ in an other. For if Tuscan be sufficient to authorise corrupt and mangled Latin words, and to giue them so great a grace, that mangled in such sort euery man may vse thẽ for good (the which no man denieth) should not *Lumbardie* or any other countrey haue the authoritie to allowe the verie Latine words that be pure, sound, proper, and not broken in any part so, but they may be well borne? And assuredly as it may be called a rash presumptiõ to take in hand to forge new words, or to set vp the old in spite of custome: So is it no lesse, to take in hand against the force of the same custom to bring to nought, and (as it were) to bury aliue such as haue lasted now many yeares, & haue bin defended from the malice of the time with the shield of vse, and haue preserued their estimation & dignitie, whẽ in the warres & turmoyles of *Italy*, alterations were brought vp both of the tongue, buildings, garments and maners. And beside the hardnes of the matter, it seemeth to be (as it were) a certaine wickednesse. Therefore where I haue not thought good in my writing to vse the words of *Boccaccio*, which are vsed no more in *Tuscã*, nor to binde my selfe to their lawe that thinke it not lawfull to vse them that the Tuscanes vse not now adaies, me thinke I ought to be holde excused. But I suppose both in the matter of the booke and in the toong, forsomuch as one toong may help an other, I

haue followed Authors as much worthie praise as *Boccaccio*. And I beleeue it ought not to be imputed vnto me for an error, that I haue chosen to make my selfe rather knowne for a Lombard, in speaking of Lombard, then for no Tuscane, in speaking of too much Tuscane. Because I will not do as *Theophrastus* did, which for speaking too much the meere Athenian tongue, was of a simple olde woman knowne not to be of *Athens*.

Cicero in Bruto.

But because in this point there is sufficient talke in the first booke, I will make no more adoe. And to auoyd all contentiō, I confesse to my fault finders, that I haue no knowledge in this their Tuscane tongue so harde and secrete: and I say that I haue written it in mine owne, and as I speake, and vnto such as speake as I speake: and so I trust I haue offended no man. For I beleeue it is forbid no mā that is, to write and speake in his owne tongue, neyther is any man bounde to reade or heare that contenteth him not. Therefore if they will not reade my Courtier, they shall offend me nothing at all. Other say, because it is so hard a matter and (in a maner) vnpossible to finde out a man of such perfection, as I woulde haue the Courtier to be, it is but superfluous to write it: For it is a vain thing to teach that cannot be learned. To these men I answere, I am content to erre with *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *M. Tullius*, leauing apart the disputing of the intelligible worlde, and of the *Ideas* or imagined formes: in which number, as (according to that opinion) the *Idea* or figure conceiued in imagination of a perfect common-weale, & of a perfect king, and of a perfect Orator are contained: So is it also of

Courtier.

a per-

a perfect Courtier. To the image whereof if my power could not draw nigh in ſtyle, ſo much the leſſe paines ſhall Courtiers haue to draw nigh in effect to the ende and marke that I in writing haue ſet before them. And if with all this they cannot compaſſe that perfection, ſuch as it is, which I haue endeuoured to expreſſe, he that commeth nigheſt ſhall be the moſt perfect: As among many Archers that ſhoote at one marke, where none of them hitteth the pinne, hee that is nigheſt is out of doubt better then the reſt. Some againe ſay that my meaning was to facion my ſelfe, perſwading my ſelfe that all qualities as I appoint to the Courtier are in mee. Vnto theſe men I will not cleane deny that I haue attempted all that my minde is the Courtier ſhould haue knowledge in. And I thinke who ſo hath not the knowledge of the things intreated vpon in this booke, how learned ſo euer he be, he can full ill write them. But I am not of ſo ſlender a iudgement in knowing my ſelfe, that I will take vpon mee to know whatſoeuer I can wiſh. The defence therfore of theſe accuſations and peraduenture of many moe, I leaue for this once, to the iudgement of the common opinion: becauſe for the moſt part the multitude, though they haue no perfect knowledge, yet doe they feele by the inſtinct of nature a certaine ſauour of good and ill, and can giue none other reaſon for it: One taſteth and taketh delight, an other refuſeth, and is againſt his ſtomacke.

Therefore if the booke ſhall generally pleaſe, I will count him good, and thinke that hee ought to liue: But if he ſhal diſpleaſe, I wil count him naught,

and beleeue that the memory of him shall soone perish. And if for all this mine accusers will not be satisfied with this common iudgement, let them content themselues with the iudgement of time, which at length discouereth the priuy faults of euery thing: And because it is father to truth, and a iudge without passion, it accustometh euermore to pronounce true sentence of the life or death of writings.

The Contents of the Booke.

The first Booke, entreateth of the perfect qualities of a Courtier.

The second, of the vse of them, and of mery Iestes and Prancks.

The third, of the conditions and qualities of a wayting Gentlewoman.

The fourth, of the ende of a Courtier, and of honest loue.

THE FIRST BOOKE of the Courtier of Count

Baldesser Castilio, vnto Maister *Alfonsus Aristo*.

a b c d e

Haue a long time doubted with my selfe (most louing M. Alphonsus) which of the two were harder for me, either to deny you the thing that you haue with such instance many times required of me, or to take it in hand: because on the one side me thought it a very hard matter to deny any thing, especially the request being honest, to the person whom I loue dearely, & of whom I perceiue my selfe dearly beloued. Againe, on the other side, to vndertake an enterprise which I do not know my selfe able to bring to an end, I iudged it vnconely for him that weyeth due reproofes so much as they ought to be weyed. At length, after much debating, I haue determined to proue in this behalfe, what ayde that affection and great desire to please can bring vnto my diligence, which in other things is wont to encrease the labour of men. You then require me to write, what is (to my thinking) the trade and maner of Courtiers, which is most fitting for a gentleman that liueth in the Court of Princes, by the which he may haue the knowledge how to serue them perfectly in euery reasonable matter, and obtaine thereby fauour of them, and prayse of other men. Finally of what sort he ought to be that deserueth to be called so perfect a Courtier, that there be no want in him? Wherefore I considering this kinde of request, say that in case it should not appeare to my selfe a greater blame, to haue you esteeme me to be of small friendship, than all other men of litle wisedome, I would haue ridde my hands of this labour, for feare least I should be counted rash of all such as know, what a hard matter it is, among such diuersitie of maners, that are vsed in the Courts of Christendome, to picke out the perfectest trade and way, and (as it were) the

i master or lie

flower of this Courtiership. Because vse maketh vs many times to delight in, and so set little by the selfe same thing: whereby sometime it proceedeth that maners, garments, cuttoones and fashions, which at sometime haue bene in price, become not regarded, and contrariwise, the not regarded, become of price. Therefore it is manifestly to be discerned, that vse hath greater force than reason, to bring vp new inuentions among vs, and to abolish the olde, of the which who so goeth about to iudge the perfection, is oftentimes deceiued. For which consideration, perceiuing this and many other selfes, in the matter propounded for me to write vpon, I am constrained to make a peece of an excuse, and to open plainely that this errour (if it may be termed an errour) is common to vs both, that if any blame happen to me about it, it may be also partned with you. For it ought to be reckned a no lesse offence in you, to lay vpon me a burthen that passeth my strength, than in me to take it vpon me. Let vs therefore at length settle our selues to beginne that is our purpose and drift, and (if it be possible) let vs fashion such a Courtier as the Prince that shall be worthy to haue him in his seruice, although his state bee but small, may notwithstanding bee called a mightie Lord. We will not in these Bookes follow any certaine order or rule of appointed precepts, the which for the most part is wont to be obserued in teaching of any thing whatsoeuer it bee. But after the maner of men of old time, penning a gratefull memorie, wee will repeate certaine reasonings that were debated in times past, betweene men very excellent for that purpose. And although I was not there present, but at the time when they were debated, it was my chaunce to be in England, yet some after my returne, I heard them of a person that faithfully reported them vnto me. And I will endeuour my selfe, for so much as my memorie will serue me, to call them particularly to remembrance, that you may see, what men worthy great commendation, and vnto whose iudgement a man may in euery point giue an vndoubted credite, haue iudged and beleeued in this matter. Neyther shall wee swarue from the purpose to arriue in good order at the ende, vnto the which all our communication is directed, if wee disclose the cause of the reasonings

nings that hereafter followe.

As euery man knoweth, the little Cittie of Vrbin, is scituated vpon the side of the Appennine (in a manner) in the middes of Italy, towards the Goulfe of Venice. The which for all it is placed among hilles, and those not so pleasant as perhappes some other that we behold in many places, yet in this point the Element hath bene fauourable vnto it, that all about the Countrey is very plentifull and full of fruites: so that besides the wholesomenesse of ayre, it is very aboundant and stored with all things necessary for the life of man. But among the greatest felicities that men can reckon it to haue, I count this the chiefe, that now a long time it hath alwayes bene gouerned with very good Princes, although in the common calamities of the Warres of Italy it remained also a season without any at all. But without searching further of this, we may make a good proofe with the famous memorie of Duke Fredericke, who in his dayes was the light of Italy. Neither do we want true and very large testimonies yet remaining of his wisedome, courtesie, iustice, liberalitie, of his inuincible courage and policie of Warre. And of this do his so many victories make proofe, chiefly his conquering of places impregnable, so suddaine readinesse in setting forwards to giue battaile, his putting to flight sundrie times with a small number, very great and puissant Armies, and neuer sustained losse in any conflict: So that we may, not without cause, compare him to many famous men of olde time. This man among his other deeds praise-worthy, in the hard and sharpe scituation of Vrbin built a Pallace, to the opinion of many men, the fairest that was to be found in all Italy, and so furnished it with euery necessarie implement belonging thereto, that it appeared not a Pallace, but a Cittie in forme of a Pallace, and that not onely with ordinary matters, as Siluer plate, hangings for Chambers of very rich cloath of Gold, of Silke, and other like, but also for sightlinesse: and to decke it out withall, placed there a wondrous number of auncient Images, of Marble and Mettall, verye excellent paintings and Instruments of Musicke of all sortes, and nothing would he haue there but what was most rare and excellent.

Scituation of Vrbin.

Mare Adriaticum.

Duke Fredericke.

The Pallace of Vrbin.

To this with verie great charges hee gathered togither a great number of moſt excellent and rare Bookes, in Græcke, Latine, and Hebrew, the which all he garniſhed with gold and ſiluer, eſtæming this to be the chiefeſt ornament of his great Pallace. This Duke then following the courſe of nature, when hée was three ſcore and fiue yeares of age, as he had liued, ſo did he end his life with glory.

Guidubaldo Duke of Vrbin.

And left Duke after him a childe of tenne yeares, hauing no more male, and without mother, who hight Guidubaldo. This childe as of the ſtate, ſo did it appeare alſo that he was heire of all his fathers vertues, and ſuddenly with a maruellous towardneſſe, began to promiſe ſo much of himſelfe, as a man would not haue thought poſſible to be hoped of a man mortall. So that the opinion of men was, that of all Duke Frederickes notable deeds, there was none greater than that hée begat ſuch a ſonne. But fortune enuying this ſo great vertue, with all her might gaine-ſtood this ſo glorious a beginning, in ſuch wiſe that before Duke Guidubaldo was 20. yeares of age, he fell ſicke of the Goute, the which encreaſing vpon him with moſt bitter paines, in a ſhort time ſo nummed him of all his members, that he could neither ſtand on foote, nor moue himſelfe. And in this maner was one of the beſt fauoured, and towardlieſt perſonages in the world, deformed and marred in his grëne age. And beſide, not ſatiſfied with this, fortune was ſo contrary to him in all his purpoſes, that very ſeldome he brought to paſſe any thing to his minde. And for all hée had in him moſt wiſe counſaile, and an inuincible courage, yet it ſëmed that whatſoeuer he toke in hand, both in feates of armes, and in euery other thing ſmall or great, it came alwayes to ill ſucceſſe. And of this make proofe his many and diuerſe calamities, which hée alwayes bare out with ſuch ſtoutneſſe of courage, that vertue neuer yëlded to fortune. But with a bold ſtomacke deſpiſing her ſtormes, liued with great dignitie and eſtimation among all men: in ſickneſſe, as one that was ſound, and in aduerſitie, as one that was moſt fortunate. So that for all hée was thus diſeaſed in his body, he ſerued in time of warre with moſt honourable entertainment vnder the moſt famous kings of Naples, Alphonſus & Ferdinande the yonger. Afterward with Pope Alexander the firſt, with the Lords of

Troubled with the goute.

His ill loche.

His ſeruice with princes and commonweales.

Venice,

Venice and Florence. And when Iulius the second was created Pope, he was then made Generall Captaine of the Church: at which time proceeding in his accustomed vlage, hée set his delight aboue all things to haue his house furnished with most noble and valiant Gentlemen, with whom hée lined verie familiarly, enioying their conuersation, wherein the pleasure which hée gaue vnto other men was no lesse, than that he receiued of other, because hée was very well séene in both tongues, and together with a louing behauiour and pleasantnesse hée had also accompanied the knowledge of infinite things. His properties and qualities.

And beside this, the greatnesse of his courage so quickned him, that where hée was not in case with his person to practise the feates of Chiualrie, as hée had done long before, yet did hée take very great delight to behold them in other men, and with his words sometime correcting, and otherwhile praysing euery man according to his deserts, hée declared euidently how great a iudgement hée had in those matters. And vpon this at Tylt, at Tourney, in ryding, in playing at all sorts of Weapon, also in inuenting deuices in pastimes, in Musicke, finally in all exercises méete for noble Gentlemen, euerie man striued to shewe himselfe such a one, as might deserue to bee iudged worthie of so noble an assembly. Therefore were all the houres of the day diuided into honourable and pleasant exercises, as well of the body as of the minde.

But because the Duke vsed continually, by reason of his infirmitie, séene after Supper to goe to his rest, euery man ordinarily, at that houre drew where the Dutchesse was, the Lady Elizabeth Gonzaga. Where also continually was the Lady Emilia Pia, who for that she was indued with so liuely a witte and iudgement, as you knowe, séemed the Maistresse and Ringleader of all the company, and that euerie man at her receiued vnderstanding and courage. There was then to be heard pleasant communication and merrie conceits, and in euerie mans countenance a man might perceiue painted a louing iocundnesse. So that this house truly might well bee called the verie Mansion place of Myrth and Ioy. And I beléeue it was Elizabeth Gonzaga Dutchesse of Vrbin. Lady Emilia Pia.

neuer so talked in other place, what manner a thing the swéete conuersation is that is occasioned of an amiable and louing company, as it was once there. For leauing apart what honour it was to all vs to serue such a Lorde, as hée whome I declared vnto you right now, euerye man conceiued in his minde an high contentation euery time wée came into the Dutchesse sight. And it appeared that this was a Chaine that kept all linked together in loue, in such wise that there was neuer agréement of will or heartie loue greater betweéne brethéren, than there was betweéne vs all.

The behauiour of the Dutchesse.

The like was betweéne the woman, with whom we had such frée and honest conuersation, that euery man might commune, sit, dally, and laugh with whom he had lusted. But such was the respect which we bare to the Dutchesse will, that the selfe-same libertie was a very great bridle. Neither was there any that thought it not the greatest pleasure he could haue in the world, to please her, and the greatest griefe to offend her. For this respect were there most honest conditions coupled with wonderous great libertie and deuises of Pastimes, and laughing matters tempered in her sight, beside most wittie iestes, with so comely and graue a Maiestie, that the very sober mode and greatnesse that did knit together all the actes, wordes, and gestures of the Dutchesse in iesting and laughing, made them also that had neuer séene her in their life before, to count her a very great Lady. And all that came in her presence, hauing this respect fixed in their breast, it séemed shée had made them to her becke: so that euery man enforced himselfe to follow this trade, taking (as it were) a rule and ensample of faire conditions at the presence of so great and so vertuous a Lady. Whose most excellent qualities I entend not now to expresse, for it is neither my purpose, and againe they are well inough knowne to the world, and much better than I am able either with tongue, or pen to endite. And such as would perhaps haue laine hid a space, fortune as she that wondreth at so rare vertues, hath thought good with many aduersities and temptatiõs of miseries to disclose them, to make triall thereby that in the tender breast of a woman, in company with singular beautie, there can dwell wisedome, and stoutnesse

nesse of courage, and all other vertues that in graue men themselues are most seemely. But leauing this apart, I say that the maner of the Gentlemen in the house was immediately after supper to assemble togither where the Dutchesse was. Where among other occasions, musicke and dauncing, which they vsed continually, sometime they propounded feate questions, otherwhile they inuented certaine wittie sports and pastimes, at the deuice sometime of one, sometime of another, in the which vnder certaine couerts, oftentimes the standers by opened subtilly their imaginations vnto whom they thought best. At other times there arose other disputations of diuerse matters, or else iestings with prompt inuentions. Many times they fell into purposes, as we now adayes tearme them, where in this kinde of talke and debating of matters, there was wonderous great pleasure on all sides: Because (as I haue said) the house was replenished with most noble wittes. Among which (as you know) were most famous the Lord Octauian Fregoso, sir Fredericke his brother, the Lord Iulian de Medicis, M. Peter Bembo, the Lord Cesar Gonzaga, Count Lewis of Canossa, the Lord Gasper Pallauicin, the Lord Lodouicus Pius, Maister Morello of Ortona, Peter of Naples, Maister Robert of Bari, and infinite other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen. Beside these, there were many that for all ordinarily they dwelled not there, yet spent they most of their time there, as, Maister Barnard Bibiena, Vnico Aretino, Iohn Christopher Romano, Peter Mount, Therpander, Maister Nicholas Phisio, so that thither ranne continually Poets, Musitions, and all kinde of men of skill, and the excellentest in euery facultie that were in all Italy. After Pope Iulius the second had with his owne presence by the ayde of the Frenchmen brought Bolonia, to the obedience of the Apostolique Sea againe, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and fiue, in his returne toward Rome, he toke Vrbin in his way, where he was receiued as honourably as was possible, and with as sumptuous and costly preparation, as could haue bene in any other Citie of Italy whatsoeuer it be. So that beside the Pope, all the Cardinals and other Courtiers thought themselues throughly satisfied.

Noble personages in the Court of Vrbin.

And some there were that prouoked with the sweetnesse of this company, after the Pope and the Court was departed, continued many dayes together in Vrbin. At which time they did not onely proceed in their accustomed trade of disporting and ordinary recreations, but also euery man set to his helping hand to augment them somewhat, and especially in pastimes, which they had vp almost euery night. And the order thereof was such, that as soone as they were assembled where the Dutchesse was, euerie man sat him downe at his will, or as it fell to his lotte, in a cycle together, and in sitting were diuided a man and a woman, as long as there was women, for alwayes (lightly) the number of men was farre the greater. Then were they gouerned as the Dutchesse thought best, which many times gaue this charge vnto the Lady Emilia.

So the day after the Pope was departed, the company being gathered to the accustomed place, after much pleasant talke, the Dutchesse pleasure was that the Lady Emilia should begin these pastimes: and shee after a little refusing of that charge, said in this manner: With it is your pleasure (Madame) I shall be shee that must giue the onset in our pastimes this night, because I ought not of reason to disobey you, I thinke meete to propound a pastime, whereof I suppose shall ensue little blame, and lesse trauell. And that shall be to haue euery man, as nigh as he can, propound a deuice not yet heard of, then shall we chose out such a one as shall be thought meete to be taken in hand in this company. And after she had thus spoken, she turned her to the Lord Gaspar Pallauicin, willing him to propound his: who immediately made answere: But first (Madame) you must begin to propound yours. Then said the Ladie Emilia: I haue alreadie done. But your Grace must commaund him (Madame) to bee obedient. Then the Dutchesse laughing, to the intent (quoth shee) that euery man shall obey you, I make you my Deputie, and giue vnto you all mine authoritie. It is surely a great matter answered the Lord Gaspar, that it is alwayes lawfull for women to haue this priuiledge, to bee exempt and free from paines taking, and truly reason would wee should in any wise know why. But because I will not be he that

Deuices of pastimes.

shall

shall giue example to disobey, and shall leaue this vntill an other time, I will speake of that I am now charged withall, and thus I begin. The Lord Gaspers deuice.

Mine opinion is, that our mindes, as in other things, so also in louing are diuerse in iudgement, and therefore it chaunceth oftentimes, that the thing which is most acceptable vnto one, is most abhorred of an other. Yet for all that they alwayes agree in that euery man counteth most deare the wight beloued. So that many times the ouermuch affection in louers doth deceiue their iudgement, that they weene the person whom they loue, to bee so garnished with all excellent vertues and without fault, that he hath no Peere in the world. But because the nature of man doth not admit such full perfections, and there is no man that hath not some default or want in him, it cannot be said that such as these be, are not deceiued, and that the louer doth not become blinde as touching the beloued. I would therefore our pastime should be this night to haue euerye man open what vertues hee would principally the person hee loued should bee endued withall. And seeing it is so necessarily that we all haue some sport, what vice hee would also haue in him: to see who can finde out most praiseworthy and manly vertues, and most tollerable vices, that should be least hurtfull both to him that loueth, and to the wight beloued.

After the Lord Gasper had thus spoken, the Lady Emilia made a signe vnto the Lady Constance Fregosa, because shee was next in order, to follow: who was now about to speake when the Dutchesse suddenly said: Seeing the Lady Emilia will not take the paine to finde out some pastime, reason willeth that the other Ladies should bee partakers of the same priuiledge, and bee also free from this burden for this night, especially seeing there are so many men in place, for assure your selfe we shall want no pastime. 3. So shall we do, answered the Lady Emilia, and putting the L. Constance to silence, turned her to ỹ L. Cesar Gonzago, that sat next her, commanding him to speake, and thus he began: Who so will diligently consider all our doing, he shall finde alwayes in them sundrie imperfections. And that happeneth, because nature doth vary, as well in this, as in all other things. Vnto one hee The L. Constance Fregosa. The L. Cesar Gonzagas deuice.

hath giuen the light of reason in one thing, and vnto an other, in an other thing. Therefore it commeth to passe, where one man knoweth that an other knoweth not, and is ignorant in the thing that the other hath vnderstanding in, each man both easily perceiue the errour of his fellowe, and not his owne, and we all thinke our selues to be very wise, and peraduenture in that point most, wherein we are most foolish. So that we haue seene by experience in this houle many men which at the beginning were counted most wise, in processe of time were knowne to bee most foolish. Which hath proceeded of no other thing but of our owne diligence, like, as it is said to bee in Pulia of them that are bitten with a Tarrantula, about whom men occupie many instruments of Musicke, and with sundrie soundes goe searching out, vntill the humour that maketh this disease by a certaine concordance it hath with some of those soundes, feeling it, doo suddenly moue, and stirreth the patient, that by that styrring hee recouereth his health againe. In like manner we, when we haue felt some priuie operation of folly, we prouoke it so subtilly, and with such sundrie perswasions, and so diuers wayes, that at length we vnderstand whether it tended. Afterward that humour knowne, we so stir it, that alwaies it is brought to the perfection of open folly. And some is wered foolish in verses, some in Musicke, some in loue, some in daunsing, some in making antiques, some in ryding, some in playing at fence, euerie man according to the moine of his mettall, whereby hath ensued (as you knowe) maruellous great pastime. I holde therefore for certaine, that in euerie one of vs there is some seede of folly, the which beeing styred may multiplye (in a manner) infinite. Therefore I would this night our pastime were to dispute vpon this matter, and that euery man might say his minde, seeing I must be openly foolish, in what sort of folly I am foolish, and ouer what matter, iudging it the issue for the sparkles of folly that are daily seene to proceed from mee. And let the like bee said of all the rest, keeping the order of our deuices, and let euerie man doo his best to grounde his opinion vpon some sure signe and argument, and so by this our pastime shall euery one of vs

A kind of spiders, which being diuers of nature, cause diuers effects, some after their biting fal a singing, some laugh, some weepe, some watch, some sweare: and this disease is onely cured with instruments of musicke, which must neuer cease vntil the diseased being constrained with the melody therof to fal a daunsing, with long exercise ouercommeth the force of this poyson.

get

get profit, in that we shall know our defaults, and then shall we the better take heed. And in case the paine of folly which we shall discouer, be so ranke that it shall appeare to vs past remedie, we shall set thereto our helping hand, and according to the doctrine of Friar Marian, wee shall gaine a soule, which shall bee no small gaine.

Frier Marke.

At this deuice there was much laughing, and none could refraine from speaking. One said, I should be found foolish in imagining. An other, in viewing. An other said, he was alreadie become foolish for loue: and such like matters. Then Frier Seraphin after his maner, laughing. This (quoth he) should be too tedious a matter. But if you will haue a pretie pastime, let euery man tell his opinion, how it commeth that (in a manner) all women abhorre rootes, and loue serpents, and you shall see that none will hit vpon it, but I, that know this mystery by a straunge meane. And now began he to enter into his trifling tales, but the Lady Emilia commaunded him to silence, and ouerskipping the Lady that sate there, made a signe to Vnico Aretino, that was next in order, & he went without looking for any more bidding, I (quoth he) would gladly be a iudge of authoritie, that I might with all kinde of torment boulte out the truth of offenders: and that, to discouer the deceits of an vngrate woman, who with the eyes of an angel, and hart of a serpent, neuer agreeth her tongue with her mind, and with a fayned deceiueable compassion, purposeth nothing else but to make Anatomy of hearts. Neither is there in all the sandy countrey of Libia to be found so venemous a serpent that is so desirous of mans blood, as is this false creature. Which not onely for the sweetnesse of voyce and pleasant sound of woords, but also for her eies, for her laughing, for her countenance, and for all her gestures is a most perfect Mermaiden. Therefore seeing it is not lawful for me, as I would to vse chaines, ropes, or fier, to vnderstand a matter of treath, my desire is to compasse ỹ knowledge of it with a merrie pastime, which is this: That euery man should expresse his fansie what the S. doth signifie that the Dutchesse carrieth in her forehead. For although this be also an artificiall couert, the better to beguile, perhappes there may be an interpretation which shee neuer thought vppon. And who knoweth

Frier Seraphin.

Vnico Aretinos deuice.

knoweth whether fortune, with pittie beholding the torments of men, hath stirred her with his small token to discouer against her will the inward desire shee hath to slay and burie aliue in calamitie him that honoreth and serueth her. The dutchesse laughed, and Vnico perceiuing she would haue excused her selfe of this interpretation, no (quoth he) speake you not, Madam, for it is not your turne to speake now. The L. Emilia then turned her, and said: M. Vnico there is none of vs all here that giueth not place to you in euery thing, and especially in knowing the disposition of the Dutchesse. And as you by your diuine wit know her better than all the rest, so doo you loue her better than all the rest, which like birds of feeble sight, that cannot loke steadfastly into the circle of the Sunne, cannot so well perceiue the perfection of it. Therefore all labour were in vaine in clearing of this doubt, saiuing your iudgement alone. This enterprise then is reserued onelye to you, as vnto him that alone can bring it to an end, and none other. Vnico after he had pawsed a while, being still called vpon to say his fansie, at length rehearsed a rime vpon the foresaid matter, expounding what signified the letter S. the which many iudged to made at the first sight. But because it was more wittie and better knit than a man would haue beleeued the shortnesse of time required, it was thought hee had prepared it before. So after mens fauourable voyce giuen in the praise of this rime, and after sufficient talke, the L. Octauian Fregoso whose turne was then next, beganne in this sort smiling: My Lords, if I should say vnto you that I neuer felt passion of loue in my dayes, I am sure the dutchesse and the L. Emilia, although they beleeue it not indeed, yet would they make semblance to beleeue it, and would say that it proceeded because I mistrusted I should neuer frame any woman to loue me. The which truly I haue not hitherto proued with such instance, that of reason I should dispaire to obtaine it once. Neither haue I forborne the doing of it, because I set so much by my selfe and so little by women, that I thinke none worthy to bestowe my loue and seruice vpon. But rather amazed at the continuall bewailing of some louers, that with their palenesse, sorow, & silence, it appeareth they haue euermore their owne

The L. Octauian Fregosos deuice.

discomfort

diſcomfort painted in their eyes. And if they ſpeake accompanying euery word with certaine trebleſold ſighes, they reaſon of nothing elſe but of teares, of torments, of deſperations, and of longing for death. So that whenſoeuer any ſparkle of loue hath begunne to kindle in my breaſt, I haue by and by enforced my ſelfe with all diligence to quench it: not for any hatred that I haue conceiued againſt women (as theſe Ladies ſuppoſe) but for mine owne health. On the other ſide, I haue knowne ſome other cleane contrary to theſe ſorrowfull, which do not onely aduance and content themſelues with the chearefull lookes, louing words, and ſweete countenances of their Ladies, but alſo ſauce their ſorrowes with ſweetneſſe, ſo that they count the debates, the angers, and the diſdaines of them, moſt ſweete. Therefore theſe men ſeeme vnto me to be much more than happie: for whereas they finde ſo much ſweetneſſe in the amorous diſdaynes, which ſome men recken much more bitter than death, I beleeue in louing geſtures they ſhould feele that wonderfull bliſſe, which we ſeeke for in vaine in this world. Therefore would I our paſtime were this night, to haue euery man ſhewe where there muſt bee a diſdaine againſt him in the perſon beloued, what the cauſe ſhould be that ſhould make the perſon conceiue this diſdaine. For if there be any here that haue proued thoſe ſweet diſdaines, I am ſure they will deſire for courteſie one of theſe cauſes that make them ſo ſweet. And perhappes I ſhall with a better will proceed ſomewhat farther in loue, in hope that I ſhall alſo finde this ſweetneſſe, whereas ſome finde bitterneſſe, and ſo ſhall not theſe Ladies giue mee any more this ſlaunderous report, that I am not in loue. This paſtime was much praiſed, and therefore did euery man ſettle himſelfe to reaſon vpon this matter. But the Lady Emilia holding her peace, M. Peter Bembo that ſat next in order, ſpake in this manner: My Lords, this paſtime that the L. Octauian hath propounded, hath raiſed no ſmall doubt in my minde, where he hath reaſoned of the diſdaines of loue, the which though they be ſundrie, yet vnto me haue they alwayes bene moſt bitter. Neither do I beleeue, that I can learne any ſauce that ſhall be ſufficient to ſweeten them. But peraduenture they are the more and the leſſe bitter, according

M. Peter Bembos deuice.

according to the cause whereof they arise. For I haue in my daies (I remember) séene the woman I whom serued, stirred against me, either vpon a vaine suspition that shée conceiued her selfe of my trustinesse, or else vpon some other false opinion that had béene put into their head by some mens report to my hinderance, so that I beléeued no griefe might becompared to mine. And me thought that the greatest sorrow I felt was to suffer without deseruing, and to sustaine this affliction, not for any offence of mine, but for the small loue that was in her. At other times I sawe her disdainfull for some ouersight of mine, and knew that her anger proceeded of mine offence, and at that instant I iudged the former veration to bee very light, in comparison to that which I felt then. And mee thought to be in displeasure, and that for mine owne trespasse, with the person whom onely I coueted, and with such diligence sought to please, was the greatest torment of all other. Therefore would I our pastime were to haue euery man declare his opinion, where there must bée a disdaine against him in the person beloued, of whom hee would the cause of this disdaine should haue his beginning, whether of her, or of himselfe: to know which is the greater griefe, either to displease the wight beloued, or to receiue displeasure of the wight beloued. Euery man loked what the L. Emilia would make answere to this, but without any word speaking to Bembo, shée turned her, and made a signe to sir Fredericke Frigoso to shewe his deuice. And hée incontinently began thus:

S. Fredericke Fregolos deuice.

Madame, I would it were lawfull for me, as the manner is many times to remit me to the iudgement of an other, for I for my part would with all my heart allow some of the pastimes that haue béene alreadie propounded by these Lordes, because indeed mée thinke they would be worth the hearing. Yet least I should breake the order, this I say: who so would take in hand to praise our Court, leauing a part the deserts of the Dutchesse, which ghostly spirit with her influence, is sufficient to drawe from the earth vp into heauen the simplest wittes in the world, hée might well dow it without suspition of flatterie. For peraduenture in all Italy a man shall haue much a dow to finde out so many Gentlemen and noble personages that are so worthy, and beside the principal profession of

Good Courtiers in the Court of Vrbin.

Chiualrie

Chiualrie so excellent in sundry things, as are presently here. Therfore if in any place men may be found that deserue the name of good Courtiers, and can iudge what belongeth to the perfection of Courtiership, by reason a man may beléeue them to be héere. To disgrace therefore many vntowardly alleheads, that through malapertnesse thinke to purchase them the name of a good Courtier, I would haue such a pastime for this night, that one of the company might be plucked out, who should take it in hand to shape in words a good Courtier, specifying all such conditions and particular qualities, as of necessitie must be in him that deserueth this name. And in such things as shall not appeare necessarie, that it may be lawfull for euery man to reply against them, as the maner of Philosophers Scholes is against him that kéepeth disputations. Sir Fredericke proceéded still forward in his talke, when the L. Emilia interrupting him, said: If it be my Lady the dutchesse pleasure, this shall be our pastime for this once. The Dutchesse answered: I am well pleased. Then (in manner) all the company began to say both to the dutchesse and among themselues, that this was the trimmest pastime they could haue, and without loking for answere the one of the other, they craued vpon the L. Emilia to appoint who should first begin. Who turning her toward the Dutchesse, said: Command you, Madam, whom shall please you to take this enterprise in hand, for I will not by chosing more one than an other, declare my selfe to iudge in this behalfe, whom I thinke to be better skilled than the rest, and so doo wrong to some. The Dutchesse answered: Make you this choise your selfe, & take héed that in disobeying, you bée not a president to the rest to be disobedient. Then the L. Emilia said, laughing vnto Lewis Count of Canosse: therefore for lesse losing any more time, you (Count) shalbe he that shal take this enterprise vpon you in forme and maner as sir Fredericke hath declared. Not for that we know ye are so good a Courtier, that yée haue at your fingers endes that belongs thereto: but because in repeating euerie thing arsiuerse, as we hope ye will, we shall haue so much the more pastime, and euery one shall be able to answere you, where if an other more skilfull than you should take it in hand, there should be nothing said against him for telling the truth, and so should we

we haue but a cold pastime. The Count answered by and by: Wée néede not feare (Madame) that we shall want contrarying in words against him that telleth the truth, as long as you be héere. And after they had laughed a while at this answere, he proceéded on: but truly I would with all my heart be ridde of this burthen, for it is too hard for me. And I know that to be most plaine in me, which you haue spoken in ieast: namely, that I haue no vnderstanding in that belongeth to a good Courtier. And this do I not séeke to proue with any other triall: for séeing I do not the déeds, a man may iudge I vnderstand it not, and I beléeue I am the lesse to be blamed. For out of doubt, it is a worse matter not to do well, than not to vnderstand how to do it. Yet séeing your pleasure is, that I shall take the charge vpon me, I cannot, nor will refuse it, for withstanding your order and iudgement, the which I know is much better than mine. Then the L. Cesar Gonzaga. Because it is now (quoth he) well forward in night, and haue here readie for vs other sorts of pastimes, peraduenture it should not bée amisse to deferre this reasoning vntill to morrow, and the Counte shall haue leisure to thinke better vpon that he hath to say: for in very déed to entreat vpon such a matter at the first sight, it is a hard thing. Then answered the Count: I will not do as he did, that stripped himselfe into his doublet, and leaped lesse ground than he did before in his coate. And me thinke my lucke is good that it is late, because the shortnesse of time shall make mée vse fewe words, and the suddennesse of the matter shall so excuse me, that it shall be lawfull for me to speake without blame, whatsoeuer commeth first to minde. Because I will not therefore carrie this burthen of dutie any longer vpon my shoulders, this I say: In euery thing it it is so hard a matter to know the true perfection, that it is almost vnpossible, and that by reason of the varietie of iudgements. Therefore many there are, that delight in a man of much talke, and him they call a pleasant fellow. Some will delight more in modestie, some other will fancie a man that is active and alwaies doing: other one that sheweth a quietnesse and a respect in euerie thing. And thus doeth euery man praise or dispraise according to his fancy, alwaies couering a vice with the name of the next vertue

The true perfection in things.

to

to it, and a vertue with the name of the next vice: as in calling him that is sawcie, bold: him that is sober, drie: him that is seely, good: him that is vnhappy, wittie: & likewise in the rest. Yet do I thinke that each thing hath his perfection, although it bee hid, and with reasonable discourses, might be iudged of him ẏ hath knowledge in that matter. And for as much as the truth (as I haue said) is oftentimes hid, and I take not vpon mee to haue this knowledge, I cannot praise, but that kinde of Courtiers which I set most by, and allow that which seemeth vnto me most nigh the truth, in my small iudgement. The which you shall follow if yee thinke it good, or else sticke to your owne, if it shall varie from mine. Neither will I (for al that) stand stiffe, that mine is better than yours, for not only one thing may seeme vnto you, and an other to me, but also vnto my selfe it may appeare sometime one thing, sometime another. I will haue this our Courtier therfore to be a Gentleman born & of a good house. For it is a great deale lesse dispraise for him that is not borne a Gentleman to faile in the acts of vertue then for a Gentleman. If hee swarue from the steps of his auncestors, he staineth the name of his family, and doth not onely get, but looseth that is alreadie gotten. For noblenesse of birth, is as it were a cleare lampe that sheweth forth and bringeth into light, workes both good and badde, and enflameth and prouoketh vnto vertue, as well with the feare of slaunder, as also with the hope of praise. And wheras this brightnesse of noblenesse doth not discouer the workes of the vnnoble, they haue a want of prouocation and of feare of slaunder, & they recken not themselues bound to wade any further than their auncestors did before them, where as the noble of birth, count it a shame not to arriue at the least at the bounds of their predecessors set forth vnto them. Therefore it chaunceth alwaies, in a maner, both in armes and in all other vertuous acts, that the most famous men are Gentlemen. Because nature in euery thing hath deepely sowed that priuie seede, which giueth a certain force and propertie of her beginning, vnto whatsoeuer springeth of it, and maketh it like vnto her self. As we see by example, not only in the race of horses and other beasts, but also in trees, whose slippes and graffes alwayes for the most part

Vice cloaked with ẏ name of a vertue, & contrariwise.

The fashioning of a Courtier.

A Gentleman borne.

are like vnto the stocke of the tre they come from, and if at any time they growe out of kinde, the fault is in the husbandman. And the like is in men, if they be trained vp in good nourture, most commonly they resemble them from whom they come, and oftentimes passe them, but if they haue not one that can wel traine them vp they grow as it were wilde, and neuer come to their ripenesse. Truth it is, whether it be through the fauour of the starres or of nature, some there are borne indued with such graces, that they seem not to haue bene born, but rather fashioned with the very hand of some God, and abound in all goodnes both of body and minde. As againe, we see some so vnapt and dull, that a man will not beleeue, but nature hath brought them into the world for a spite and mockery. And like as these with continuall diligence and good bringing vp for the most parte can bring small fruite: euen so the other with little attendance clime to the full perfection of all excellencie. Marke the Lord Hypolitus da Este Cardinall of Ferrara, hee hath had so happie a birth, that his person, his countenance, his words, and all his gestures are so fashioned and compact with this grace, that amõg the most auncient prelates (for all he is but young) he doth represent so graue an authoritie, that a man would weene he were more meete to teach, than needfull to learne. Likewise in company with men and women of all degrees, in sporting, in laughing, and in iesting, hee hath in him certaine sweetnesse, and so comely demeanours, that who so speaketh with him, or yet beholdeth him, must needs beare him an affection for euer. But returning to our purpose, I say, that betweene this excellent grace, and that fond foolishnesse, there is yet a meane, and they that are not by nature so perfectly furnished, with studie and diligence may polish and correct a great part of the defaults of nature. The Courtier therefore, beside noblenesse of birth, I will haue him to be fortunate in this behalfe, and by nature to haue not onely a witte, and a comely shape of person and countenance, but also a certaine grace, and (as they say) a hewe, that shall make him at the first sight acceptable and louing vnto who so beholdeth him. And let this be an ornament to frame and

Good bringing vp in youth.

Some borne full of graces & comelines.

Some borne very assheads

Hypolytus da Este brother to the Duke of Ferrara.

accom-

accompany all his acts, and to allure men in his loke, such a one to be worthie the company and fauour of euery great man. Here without any longer tarrying the L. Gasper Pallauicin said: that our pastime may haue the forme and manner agreed vpon, and least it should appeare, that we little esteeme the authoritie giuen vs to contrary you, I say (in mine aduise) that this nobleneſſe of birth is not so necessary for the Courtier. And if I will that any of you thought it a straunge or a new matter, I would alledge vnto you sundry, who for all they were borne of most noble blood, yet haue they bene heaped full of vices: And contrariwise, many vnnoble that haue made famous their posteritie. And if it be true that you said before, that the priuie force of the first seed is in euery thing, we should al be in one maner condition, for that we had all one selfe beginning, and one should not be more noble than an other. But beside the diuersities and degrées in vs of high and lowe, I beleeue there be many other matters, wherein I iudge fortune to be the chief, because we see her beare a stroke in worldly thinges, and (as it were) take a pastime to exalt many times whom pleaseth her without any desert at all, and bury in the bottomleſſe depth the most worthie to be exalted. I confirme your saying as touching the happineſſe of them that are borne abounding in all goodneſſe both of mind and bodie: but this is seene as well in the vnnoble, as in the noble of birth, for nature hath not these so subtil distinctions: yea (as I haue said) we see many times in persons of most base degrée, most high gifts of nature. Therefore saying this noblenes is gotten neither with wit, force, nor art, but is rather a praise of our ancestors thā our own, me thinke it a strange opinion that ỹ parents of our Courtier being vnnoble, his good qualities should be defaced, & those other good cōditions which you haue named should not be sufficiēt to bring him to the top of all perfectiō: ỹ is to say, wit, beauty of phisnomy, disposition of person, & that grace which at ỹ first sight shall make him most acceptable vnto all men. Thē answered Count Lewis, I deny not, but in mē of base degrée may raign ỹ very same vertues ỹ are in gentlemē. But to anoyd rehearsall of that we haue already said, with many other reasons ỹ might be alledged in cōmendatiō of noblenes, the

which is euermore honoured of all men, because it standeth with reason, that good should spring of good: for so much as our intent is to fashion a Courtier without any manner of default or lacke in him, and heaped with all praise, me thinke it a necessary matter to make him a Gentleman, as well for any other respects, as also for the common opinion, which by and by doth leane to noblenes.

Nobleneſſe of birth in eſtimation with all men.

For where there are two in a noble mans house, which at the first haue giuen no proofe of themselues with workes good or badde, as soone as it is known that the one is a gentleman born, and the other not, the vnnoble shalbe much lesse esteemed with euery mã, then the gentleman, and he must with much trauel and long time imprint in mens heads a good opinion of himselfe, which the other shall get in a moment, and onely for that he is a gentleman: and how waighty these imprintings are, euery man may easily iudge. For to speake of our selues, we haue seene men come to this house, which for all they were soles and dullwitted, yet had they a report through all Italy of great Courtiers, and though at length they were discouered and known, yet many daies did they beguile vs, and maintained in our mindes that opinion of themselues, which at the first they found there imprinted, although they wrought according to their small skill. We haue seene other at the first in very small estimation, and afterward in the ende haue acquitted themselues marueilous well. And of these errors there are diuers causes, and among other the obstinatnes of princes, which to proue maistries, oftentimes bend themselues to fauour him, that to their seeming, deserueth no fauour at all, and many times in deede they are deceiued. But because they haue alwayes many that counterfeit them, a very great report dependeth vpon their fauour, ỹ which most commonly iudgements follow. And if they find any thing that seemeth cõtrary to the cõmon opinion, they are in doubt for deceiuing themselues, & alwaies looke for some matter secretly, because it seemeth, that these general opiniõs ought to be founded vpõ a troth, & arise of reasonable causes. And for so much as your minds are very apt to loue & to hate: as in the sights of combats & games, and in all other kind of contention one with an other, it is seene that ỹ lokers

The imprintings or conceiuings of the minde with expectation.

The il inclination of Princes in fauouring them that deserue it not.

We be moued to passions without any manifest cause why.

on

vnto one of the two parties, with a grēdie desire to haue him get the victory, and the other to haue the ouerthrow. Also as touching the opinion of mens qualities, the good or ill report at the first brunt moueth our minde to one of these two passions, therefore it commeth to passe, that for the most part wē iudge with loue or else with hatred. You sée then of what importance this first imprinting is, and how he ought to endeuour himselfe to get it good in princes, if he intend to be set by, and to purchase him the name of a good Courtier. But to come to some particularitie, I iudge the principall and true profession of a Courtier ought to bée in feats of armes, the which aboue all I wil haue him to practise liuely, & to be knowne among other for his hardinesse, for his atchieuing of enterprises, & for his fidelitie toward him whom hée serueth. And he shal purchase himself a name with these good conditions, in doing the dēeds in euery time and place, for it is not for him to faint at any time in this behalfe without a wonderous reproch. And euen as in womē honestly once stained doth neuer returne againe to the former estate: So ỳ fame of a gentleman that carieth weapon, if it once take a foyle in any little point through dastardlines or any other reproch, doth euermore cōtinue shamefull in the world and full of ignorance. Therefore the more excellent our Courtier shall be in this art, the more shall he be worthy praise: albeit I iudge not necessary in him so perfect a knowledge of things and other qualities that is requisite in a Captaine. But because this is ouerlarge a scope of matters, we will hold our selues contented, as we haue said, with the vprightnesse of a well meaning mind, and with an inuincible courage, and that he alwaies shewe himselfe such a one: for many times men of courage are soner knowne in small matters than in great. Oftentimes in daungers that stand them vpon, and where many eyes be, ye shall sée some that for all their heart is dead in their body, yet pricked with shame or with ỳ cōpany, go forward, as it were, blindfield and do their duty. And God knoweth both in matters that little touch them, and also where they suppose that without missing they may conuey themselues from danger, how they are willing inough to slēpe in a whole skinne. But such as thinke

Armes the Courtiers chief profession.

That he take no foile.

Cowards sometime hardie.

Who haue the stoutnesse of courage.

themselues neither marked, seene, nor knowne, and yet declare a stout courage, and suffer not the least thing in the world to passe that may burthē them, they haue that courage of spirit which we seeke to haue in our Courtier. Yet will wee not haue him for all that so lustie to make brauerie in words, and to bragge that hee hath wedded his harneys for his wife, and to threaten with such grim lookes as we haue seene Berto doo oftentimes. For vnto such may well be said that a worthy Gentlewoman in a noble assembly spake pleasantly vnto one, that shall be namelesse for this time, whō she to shewe him a good countenance, desired to daunce with her, and he refusing both that, and to heare musicke, & many other entertainments offered him, alwaies affirming such trifles not to be his profession, at last the Gentlewoman demaunding of him, what is then your profession? He answered with a frowning looke, to fight. Then said the Gentlewoman: Seeing you are not now at the warr nor in place to fight, I would think it best for you to be well beliuered & set vp in an armory with other implements of warre til time were that you should be occupied, least you war more rustier than you are. Thus with much laughing of the standers by, she left him with a mocke in his foolish presumption. Hee therefore that we seeke for, where ỹ enemies are, shal shew himselfe most fierce, bitter, and euermore with the first. In euery place beside, lowly, sober, and circumspect, fearing aboue all thing, bragging and vnthankefull praising himselfe: for therewith a man alwayes purchaseth himselfe the hatred and ill will of the hearers. And I, answered the L. Gasper, haue known fewe men excellent in any thing whatsoeuer it be, but they praise themselues. And me thinke it may wel be borne in them: for he that is of skil, when he seeth that he is not knowne for his workes of the ignorant, hath a disdaine, that his cunning should lye buried, and needes must he open it one way, least he should be defrauded of the estimation that belongeth to it, which is the true reward of vertuous trauels. Therfore among auncient writers, he ỹ much excelleth doth seldome forbeare praising himselfe. They indeed are not to bee borne withal, that hauing no skil in them, will praise themselues: but we wil not take our Courtier to be such a one. Then ỹ Count

A stouthearted man.

To auoyd praising a mans selfe.

Estimation the reward of vertuous acts.

if

If you haue well vnderstood (quoth he) I blamed the praising of a mans selfe impudently and without respect. And surely (as you say) a man ought not to conceiue an ill opinion of a skilfull man that praiseth himselfe discréetly, but rather take it for a more certaine witnes, than if it came out of an other mans mouth. I agrée well that hée, which in praising himselfe falleth not into error, nor purchaseth himselfe loathsomnesse or hatred of ỹ hearers, is most discréet: and beside the praises which he giueth himselfe, deserueth the same of other men also, because it is a very hard matter. Then the L. Gasper, this (quoth he) must you teach vs. The Count answered: Among the auntient writers there hath not also wanted that hath taught it. But in mine opinion all doth consist in speaking such things after a sort, that it may appeare that they are not rehearsed to that end: but that they come so to purpose, that he cannot restraine telling them, and alwayes séeming to flée his owne praise, tell the truth. But not as those lustie laddes do, that open their mouth and thrust out words at a venture they care not how. As within these fewe dayes one of our company being pushed through the thigh with a Pike at Pysa, thought that it was the byting of a flye. And an other said that he occupied no looking glasse in his chamber, because in his rage he was so terrible to behold, that in looking vpon his owne countenance he should put himselfe into much feare. At this euery one laughed. But the L. Cesar Gonzaga said vnto them: At what laugh you? know you not that ỹ great Alexãder, hearing a certain Philosophers opiniõ to be that there were infinit worlds, fell in weeping: And when he was asked the question why he wept, he answered: Because I haue not yet one in hand, as though his minde was to haue them all. Doo you not thinke that this was a greater brauery, than to speak of of the flye biting? So was Alexãder a greater person than he that so said, answered the Count. But excellent men in very déed are to be held excused, when they talke much vpon them, because he that vndertaketh great enterprises must haue a boldnesse to doo it, and confidence of himselfe, and not of a bashfull or cowardly minde, but yet sober in words: shewing as though he take lesse vpõ him

In what sort a man may praise himself

Braue roysters,

Anaxagoras.

than he doth indéed, so that his taking vpon him doo not extend vnto rashnes. Here the Count respeting a while, M. Barnard Bibiena said merily: I remember you said before, that this our Courtier ought of nature to haue a faire comelinesse of phisnomy and person, with the grace that ought to make him so amiable. As for the grace and beautie of phisnomy, I thinke not the contrary but they are in me, and therefore doo so many women burne for the loue of me, as you know. But for the comelinesse of person, I stand somewhat in doubt, and especially by reason of my legges here, for me thinke indéed they are not so well made as I could wish they were: the body and the rest is méetly wel. Therefore declare somewhat more particularly this comelinesse of person, what it should be, that I may bee out of this doubt, and set my heart at rest. When they had a while laughed at this, the Count said: Certes, ẏ grace of ẏ phisnomy, may well be said to be in you without any lye. And no other example doo I alledge but this, to declare what manner thing it should be: for vndoubtedly we sée your countenance is most acceptable and pleasant to behold vnto euery man, although the proportion and draughts of it be not very delicate, but it is manly and hath a good grace withall. And this qualitie haue many & sundrie shapes of visages. And such a countenance as this is, will I haue our Courtier to haue, and not so oft and womanish as many procure to haue, ẏ doo not onely curle the haire, and pick the browes, but also pamper themselues in euery point like the most wanton and dishonest women in the world: and a man would think them in going, in standing, and in all their gestures so tẽder & faint, that their members were redy to flée one frõ an other, & their words they pronoũce so drawningly, ẏ a man would wéen they were at that instant yéelding vp the ghost: & the higher in degrée ẏ men are they talke withall, the more they vse such fashiõs. These mẽ, séeing nature (as they seeme to haue a desire to appear & to be) hath not made thẽ womẽ, ought not to be estéemed in place of good women, but like common harlots to be banished, not onely out of princes courts, but also out of the cõpany of gentlemẽ. To come therfore to ẏ quality of ẏ persõ, I say he is wel, if he be neither of ẏ least, nor of ẏ greatest sise. For

The countenance of the Courtier.

Men ẏ would appeare womẽ

Good to be of a mean estate.

both

both the one and the other hath with it a certaine ſpightfull wonder, and ſuch men are maruelled at, almoſt as much as men marualle to behold monſtrous things. Yet if there muſt nedes be a default in one of the two extremities, it ſhall be leſſe hurtfull to be ſomewhat of the leaſt, than to exceed the commō ſtature of height. For men ſo that vp of bodie, beſide that many times they are of a dull wit, they are alſo vnapt for all exerciſe of nimbleneſſe, which I much deſire to haue in the Courtier. And therefore wil I haue him to be of a good ſhape, and well proportioned in his limbs, and to ſhew ſtrength, lightnes, and quicknes, and to haue vnderſtanding in all exerciſes of the body, that belong to a man of war. And herein I thinke the chiefe point is to handle well all kind of weapons, both for foteman and horſman, and to know the vantages in it. And ſpecially to be ſkilful on thoſe weapons that are vſed ordinarily among Gentlemen, for beſide the vſe that he ſhal haue of them in warre, where peraduenture nedeth no great cunning, there happen oftentimes variances betweēn one gentleman and another, whereupon enſueth a combate. And many times it ſhall ſtand him in ſtead to vſe the weapō which he hath at that inſtant by his ſide, therfore it is a very ſure thing to be ſkilful. And I am none of them which ſay, that he forgetteth his cunning when he commeth to the point: for to abide by, who ſo loſeth his cunning at that time, ſheweth that he hath firſt loſt his hart and his ſpirits for feare. I thinke alſo it wil ſerue his turne greatly, to know the feate of wraſtling, becauſe it goeth much together with all weapons on foote. Againe it is behouefull both for himſelfe and for his friends, that he haue a forefight in the quarrels and controuerſies that may happen, and let him beware of the vantages, declaring alwayes in euery poynt both courage and wiſedome. Neither let him runne raſhly to theſe combats, but when he muſt nedes to ſaue his eſtimation withall: for beſide the great danger that is in the doubtful lot, he that goeth headlong to theſe things, and without vrgent cauſe, deſerueth very great blame, although his chance be good. But when a man perceiueth that he is entred ſo far that he cannot draw back without burthē, he muſt both in ſuch things as he hath to do before ỹ combat, and alſo in the combat, be vtterly reſolued

Rather with the loweſt than too high.

To be a man of warre.

To handle all kinde of weapons.

Fighting maketh not a mā to forget his fence.

Wraſtling.

To know what is to be done in quarrels when they happen.

Not raſh to fight combats.

How a man ought to behaue himſelfe in fighting a combat.

resolued with himselfe, and alwaies shewe a readinesse and a stomacke. And not as some do, passe the matter in arguing & points, and hauing the choise of weapon, take such as haue neither point nor edge. And arme themselues as though they should goe against the shotte of a Cannon. And weening it sufficient not to be vanquished, stand alwaies at their defence and giue ground, in so much that they declare an extream faint hart, and are a mocking stocke to the very children. As those two of Ancona: that a while ago fought a combat beside Perugia, and made them to laugh that looked on. And what were they, qd. ẏ L. Gasper Pallauicin? The L. Cesar answered: Cousins Germains of two sisters. Then said the Count: at the combat a mã would haue thought them natural brethren, then he went forward. Also men occupie their weapõ oftentimes in time of peace about sundry exercises, and Gentlemen are seene in open shewes in the presence of people, women & princes. Therefore will I haue our Courtier a perfect Horseman for euery saddle. And beside the skill in horses, and in whatsoeuer belongeth to a horseman, let him set all his delight and diligence to wade in euery thing a litle farther than other men, so that he may be knowne among all men for one that is excellent. As it is read of Alcibiades, that he excelled all other Nations wheresoeuer he came, and euery man in the thing he had most skill in. So shall this our Courtier passe other men, and euery man in his own profession. And because it is the peculiar praise of vs Italians to ride well, to manage with reason, especially rough horses, to runne at the Ring, and at Tylt, he shalbe in this among the best Italians. At Tournament, in keeping a passage, in fighting at Barriers, he shall be good among the best Frenchmen. At Ioco dicanne, running at Bull, casting of Speares and Darts, he shall be among the Spaniards excellent. But principally let him accompany all his motion with a certaine good iudgement and grace, if hee will deserue that generall fauour which is so much set by. There be also many other exercises, the which though they depend not throughly vpon Armes, yet haue they a great agreement with them, and haue in them much manly activitie. And of them me thinke, hunting is one of the chiefest: for it hath a certaine likenesse

A perfect horseman.

Alcibiades excelled other nations in their owne seates.

Propertie of Italians.

Propertie of French men.

Propertie of Spaniards.

Hunting.

weneſſe with warre, and truly a paſſime for great men, and fit for one liuing in Court. And it is found that it hath alſo bene much vſed among them of olde time. It is méete for him alſo to haue the Art of ſwimming, to leape, to runne, to caſt the ſtone: for beſide the profit that hée may receiue of this in the warres, it happeneth to him many times to make proofe of himſelfe in ſuch things, whereby it getteth him a reputation, eſpecially among the multitude, vnto whom a man muſt ſometime apply himſelfe. Alſo it is a noble exerciſe, and méete for one liuing in Court to play at Teniſe, where the diſpoſition of the body, the quickneſſe and nimbleneſſe of euerie member is much perceiued, and almoſt whatſoeuer a man can ſée in all other exerciſes. And I reckon vawting of no leſſe praiſe, which for all it is painefull and hard, maketh a man more light and quicker than any of the reſt: and beſide the profit, if that lightneſſe be accompanied with a good grace, it maketh (in my iudgement) a better ſhewe than any of the reſt. If our Courtier then be taught theſe exerciſes more than indifferently well, I beléeue hée may ſet aſide tumbling, clymming vpon a coard, and ſuch other matters that taſte ſomewhat of Juglers craft, and doo little beſéeme a Gentleman. But becauſe we cannot alwaies endure among theſe ſo painfull doings, beſide that the continuance goeth nigh to gine a man his fill, and taketh away the admiration that men haue of thinges ſeldome ſeene, wée muſt continually alter our life with practiſing ſundrie matters. Therefore will I haue our Courtier to deſcend many time to more eaſie and pleaſaunt exerciſes. And to auoyde enuye, and to kéepe company pleaſauntly with euery man, let him doo whatſoeuer other men doo: ſo he decline not any time from commendable déeds, but gouerneth himſelfe with that good iudgement that will not ſuffer him to enter into any folly: but let him laugh, dally, ieaſt, and daunce, yet in ſuch wiſe that he may alwayes declare himſelf to be wittie and diſcreet, and euery thing that he doth or ſpeaketh, let him doo it with a grace. Truly, ſayde then the Lord Ceſar Gonzaga, the courſe of this communication ſhould not be ſtopped: but if I ſhould hold my peace, I ſhould not

Swimming, Leaping, Running, Caſting the ſtone.

Play at Teniſe.

Vawting.

Tumbling not fit for a Gentleman.

To frame himſelf to the company.

not satisfie the libertie which I haue to speake, nor the desire that I haue to vnderstand one thing. And let me be pardoned, if where I ought to speake against, I demaund a question: because I suppose I may lawfully doe it after the example of M. Bernard, who for the too great desire hée had to be counted a well fauoured man, hath offended against ỹ lawes of our pastime, in demanding without speaking against. Behold I beseech ye, sayd then the Dutchesse, how one errour bringeth in a great sort. Therfore who so offendeth and giueth euill example, as M. Bernard hath done, deserueth to be punished, not only for his own offence, but for other mens also. Then answered the Lord Cesar: Therefore must I (Madame) escape punishment, for that M. Bernard ought to be punished for his owne offence & mine both. Nay (quoth the Dutchesse) you ought both to haue double punishment. Ye for his offence, and for being an occasiõ for you to commit the like: and you for your offence, and for taking him for a prẽsidẽt that did offend. I haue not hitherto offended Madam, answered the Lord Cesar. Therfore because I wil leaue the whole punishment for M. Bernard I will kéepe silence. And now hée helde his peace, when the Ladie Emilia answered: say what pleaseth you, for by (the Dutchesse leaue) I pardon this fault, and whosoeuer shall offend in so small a trespasse. Upon that the Dutchesse sayd: I am well pleased. But take ye héed ye deceiue not your self, thinking peraduenture to be better reported of for mercie than for iustice. For in pardoning the offender too much, ye doo wrong to him that doth not offend. Yet will not I haue my rigour at this time in accusing your mercie to be the cause that wée shall lose the hearing of this the Lord Cesars demaund. So hée, after the Dutchesse and the Ladie Emilia had made a signe to him, saide by and by: if I doo well beare in mind, me thinke (Count Lewis) you haue this night oftentimes repeated, that the Courtier ought to accompany al his doings, gestures, demeaners, finally al his motions with a grace, and this, me thinke, ye put for a sauce to euery thing, without the which all his other properties & good conditions were litle worth. And I beléeue verily that euery man woulde some be perswaded therein, for by the vertue of the word a man may say, that who so

Grace.

hath

hath, grace is gracious. But because you haue said sundrye times that is the gift of nature and of the heauens, and againe, where it is not so perfect, that it may with studie and diligence be made much more, they that be borne so happy & so wealthy with such a treasure (as some that we see) me thinke therein they haue little need of any other teacher, because the bountifull fauour of heauen doth (as it were) in spite of them, guide them higher than they couet, and make them not onely acceptable, but marueilous vnto all the world. Therefore I do not reason of this, because the obtaining of it of our selues lyeth not in our power: but such as by nature haue onely so much, that they be apt to become gracious in bestowing labour, exercise, and diligence, I would faine know with what art, with what learning, and by what meane they shall compasse this grace, as well in the exercises of the body (wherein ye thinke it so necessarie a matter) as in all other things that they do or speake. Therefore as you haue in praising this qualitie to vs engendred (I beleeue) in all a feruent thirst to come by it, by ꝯ charge ye receiued of the Lady Emilia, so with teaching it vs, ye are bound to quench it. Bound I am not (quoth the Count) to teach you to haue a good grace, nor any thing else, sauing only to shewe you what a perfect Courtier ought to be. Neither will I take vpon me to teach you this perfectiō, since a while agoe, I said, that the Courtier ought to haue the feate of wrastling and vawting, and such other things, the which how I should be able to teach them, not hauing learned them my self, I am sure ye know it all. It sufficeth, that as a good souldier can speake his mind to the Armourer, of what fashion, of what temper and goodnesse he wil haue his harnesse, and for all that cannot teach him to make it, nor to hammer or temper it: So perhappes I am able to tel you what a perfect Courtiour ought to be, but not to teach you how ye should do to be one. Notwithstanding to fulfill your request in what I am able, although it be (in maner) in a prouerb, that Grace is not to be learned, I say vnto you, who so mindeth to be gracious, or to haue a good grace in the exercises of the body, (presupposing first that he be not of nature vnapt) ought to begin betimes, and to learne his principles of cunning men. The which thing

Grace not to be learned.

thing how necessary a matter Philip king of Macedonia thought it, a man may gather, in that his will was, that Aristotle so famous a Philosopher, and perhaps the greatest that ever hath bin in the world, should be the man that should instruct Alexander his sonne in the first principles of Letters. And of men whom we know now a dayes, marke how well and with what a good grace Sir Galliazzo Sanseuerino maister of the horse to the French king, doth all exercises of the bodie: and that because, beside the naturall disposition of person that is in him, he hath applied all his studie to learne of cunning men, and to have continually excellent men about him, and of euery one to chose the best of that they have skill in. For as in wrastling, in vawting, and in learning to handle sundry kinde of weapons, he hath taken for his guide our maister Peter Mount, who (as you know) is the true and onely maister of all artificiall force and sleight: So in ryding, in iusting, and in euery other feate, he hath alwaies had before his eyes, the most perfectest that hath bene knowne to be in those professions. He therfore that wil be a good scholler, beside the practising of good things, must euermore set all his diligence to be like his maister, and (if it were possible) chaunge himselfe into him. And when he had some entry, it profiteth him much to beholde sundry men of that profession: and gouerning himselfe with that good iudgement that must alwaies be his guide, goe about to picke out, sometime of one, and sometime of an other, sundry matters. And euen as the Bée in the grene Meadowes fleeth alwaies about the grasse, chosing out floures: So shall our Courtier steale this grace from them that to his seeming have it, and from each one that parcell that shall bee most worthie praise. And not do as a friende of ours, whome you all knowe, that thought he resembled much King Ferdinande the yonger of Aragon, and regarded not to resemble him in any other poynt, but in the often lifting vp of his head, wrying therwithall a part of his mouth, the which custome the King had gotten by infirmitie. And many such there are that thinke they do much, so they resemble a great man in somewhat, and take many times the thing in him that worst becommeth him. But I, imagining with my selfe oftentimes

Aristotle the first that taught the great Alexander.

Sir Galiazzo Sanseuerino.

A good scholler must seeke to be like his maister.

How grace is to be obteined.

times how this grace commeth, leauing apart such as haue it from aboue, find one rule that is most generall, which in this part (me think) taketh place in all things belonging to a man in word or deed, aboue all other. And that is to eschew as much as a man may, and as a sharpe and dangerous rock, Affectation, or curiositie, and to (to speake a new word) to vse in euery thing a certain Recklesnesse, to couer art withall, and seeme whatsoeuer he doth and saith, to do it without paine, and (as it were) not minding it. And of this do I beleeue grace is much derived, for in rare matters and well brought to passe, euery man knoweth the hardnesse of them, so that a readinesse therein maketh great wonder. And contrariwise to vse force, and (as they say) to hale by the haire, giueth a great disgrace, and maketh euery thing, how great soeuer it be, to be litle esteemed. Therefore that may be said to be a very Art, that appeareth not to be Art, neither ought a man to put more diligence in any thing than in couering it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man litle set by. And I remember that I haue read in my dayes, that there were some most excellent Orators, which among other their cares, enforced themselues to make euery man beleeue, that they had no sight in letters, and dissembling their cunning, made semblant their Orations to be made very simply, and rather as nature and truth led them, than studie and art, the which if it had bene openly known, would haue put a doubt in the peoples mind, for feare least he beguiled them. You may see then, how to shewe art, and such bent studie taketh away the grace of euery thing. Which of you is it that laugheth not whē your master Peterpaul daunceth after his owne fashion, with such fine skips, and on tipto, without mouing his head, as though he were all of wood, so heedfully, that truly a man would weene he counteth his paces. What eye is so blinde, that perceiueth not in this the disgrace of curiositie, and in many men and women here present, the grace of that not regarded, agilitie and slight conueiance (for in the motions of the body many so term it) with a kind of speaking or smiling, or gesture, betokening not to passe vpon it, and to minde any other thing more than that, to make him beleeue that loketh on, that he cānot do amisse.

A generall rule.

To auoyd curiositie.

Recklesnesse.

To couer art.

To seeme not to minde the thing a man doth excellently well.

Here

Here master Bernard Bibiena not forbearing any lōger, said: you may see yet that our maister Robert hath found one to praise his maner of dauncing, though the rest of you set litle by it. For if this excellencie doth consist in Reckelesnesse, & in shewing not to passe vpon, and rather to minde any other thing than that a man is in hand withall, Maister Robert hath no peere in the world. For that men should well perceiue that he litle mindeth it, many times his garments fall from his backe, and his slippers from his feete, and daunceth on still without taking vp againe any of both. Then aunswered the Count: Seeing you will needes haue me speake, I will say somewhat also of our vices. Do you not marke this that you call in maister Robert Reckelesnesse, is a very curiositie? for it is well knowne that he enforceth himselfe with all diligence possible to make a shewe not to minde it, and that is to minde it too much. And because he passeth certaine limits of a meane, that Reckelesnesse of his is curious, and not comely, for is a thing that commeth cleane contrary to passe from the drift, (that is to wit) to couer art. Therefore I iudge it a no lesse vice of curiositie to be in Reckelesnesse (which in it selfe is praiseworthy) in letting a mans clothes fall off his back, thā in Precisenesse (which likewise of it selfe is praiseworthy) to carrie a mans head so like a Malthorse for feare of rufling his haire, or to keep in the bottome of his cap a loking glasse, and a combe in his sleeue, and to haue alwaies at his heeles vp and downe the stretes a Page with a Spunge and a Brush: for this maner of Precisenesse and Reckelesnesse, are too much in ỹ extremitie, which is alwaies a vice, and contrarie to that pure and amiable simplicitie, which is so acceptable to mens mindes. Marke what an ill grace a man at Armes hath, when he enforceth himselfe to go so bolt vpright, setled in saddle (as we vse to say after the Venetian phrase) in comparison of an other that appeareth not to minde it, and sitteth on horsebacke so nimbly and close, as though he were on foote. How much more do we take pleasure in a Gentleman that is a man at armes, and how much more worthy praise is he if he be modest, of few words and no bragger, than an other ỹ alwaies cracketh of himself, and blaspheming with a braverie seemeth to threaten the world. And

Precisenesse.

this

this is nothing else but a curiositie to seeme to be a royster. The like happeneth in all exercises, yea in euerie thing in the world that a man can do or speake. Then said the L. Iulian: this in like maner is verified in musick: where it is a verie great vice to make two perfect cordes, the one after the other, so that the verie sense of our hearing abhorreth it, & oftentimes delighteth in a second or in a seuen, which in it selfe is an vnpleasant discord, and not tollerable: and this proceedeth because the continuance in the perfect tunes engendreth wearisomnesse, and betokeneth a too curious harmony, the which in mingling therewithall the vnperfect is auoyded, with making (as it were) a comparison, whereby our eares stand to listen and greedily attend and taste the perfect, and are otherwhile delyted with the disagreement of the second or seuen, as it were with a thing little regarded. Behold ye then, answered the Count, that curiousnesse hurteth in this, as well as in other things. They say ý also, it hath bene a prouerb among some most excellent painters of old time, ý Too much diligence is hurtfull, and that Apelles found fault with Protogenes, because he could not keepe his hands from the table. Then said the L. Cesar: The very same fault (me thinke) is in our Frier Seraphin, ý he cannot keepe his hands from the table, especially as long as there is any meat stirring. The Count laughed and went forward: Apelles meaning was, ý Protogenes knew not when it was well, which was nothing else but to reprehend his curiousnesse in his works. This vertue therfore cõtrary to curiositie, which we for this time terme Recklesnesse, beside that it is the true fountaine from the which all grace springeth, it bringeth with it also an other ornament, which accompanying any deed that a man doth, how little soeuer it be, doth not onely by and by open the knowledge of him that doth it, but also many times maketh it to be esteemed much more in effect than it is, because it imprinteth in the minds of the lokers on, an opinion, that who so can so sleightly do well, hath a great deale more knowledge than indeed he hath: and if he wil apply his study & diligence to that he doth, he might do it much better. And to repeat euen the very examples, marke a man that taketh weapon in hand: If going about to cast a dart, or holding

Musicke.

too much diligence hurtfull.

A mã is thought many times to be more cunning than he is indeed

in his hand a sword or any other waister, he setteth himselfe lightsomly (not thinking upon it) in a ready aptnesse, with such actiuity that a man would weene his body and all his members were naturally setled in that disposition, and without any pain, though he doth nothing else, yet doth he declare himselfe vnto euery man to be most perfect in that exercise. Likewise in dauncing, one measure, one motiõ of a body that hath a good grace, not being forced, doth by and by declare the knowledge of him that daunceth. A

A slight tricke betokeneth knowledge.

Musition, if in singing he rolle out but a plaine note, ending in a double relise with a sweete tune, so easily that a man would iudge he did it at a venture, in that point alone he doth men to vnderstand, that his knowledge is farre greater than it is in deed. Oftentimes also in painting, one line not studied vpon, one draught with the Pensil slightly drawne, so it appeareth the hand without the guiding of any studie or art, tendeth to his marke, according to the painters purpose, doth euidently discouer the excellencie of the workman, about the opinion whereof euery man afterward contendeth, according to his iudgement. The like happeneth also, in a maner about euery other thing. Therefore shall our Courtier be esteemed excellent, and in euery thing he shall haue a good grace, and especially in speaking, if he auoyd curiositie: into which errour many men runne, and sometime more than other, certaine of our Lumbardes, which after a yeares trauell abroad, come home and begin by and by to speake the Romaine tongue, sometime the Spanish tongue, or the French, and God woteth how. And all this proceedeth of an ouer-great desire to shewe much knowledge: and in this wise a man applyeth his studie and diligence to get a most odious vice. And truly it were no small trauell for me, if I should vse in this communication of ours, those auntient Tuscane words, that are not in vse among the Tuscanes now adaies: and beside that, I beleeue euery man would laugh at me. Then spake Sir Fredericke: Indeed reasoning together as we now do, peradventure it were not well done to vse those auntient Tuscane words: for (as you say) they would be a loathsomnesse, both to the speaker and to the hearer, and of many they should not be vnderstood without much

Men that will be deemed to be well languaged.

Auntient Tuscane words.

adoo,

a dew. But he that should write, I would thinke he committed an errour in not using them: because they gaue a great grace and authoritie vnto writings, and of them is compact a tongue more graue, and more full of Maiestie, than of the new. I know not answered the Count, what grace and authoritie those words can giue vnto writings that ought to be eschued, not onely in the maner of speech that we now vse (which you your selfe confesse) but also in any other manner that can be imagined. For if any man, of how good a iudgement soeuer he were, had to make an Oration of graue matters in the very counsel-chamber of Florence, which is the head of Tuscane: or else to commune priuately with a person of estimation in that Citie about waighty affaires: or also with the familiarest friend he hath about pleasant matters: or with women or gentlewomē about matters of loue, either in iesting or dallying, banketting, gaming, or where euer else: or in any time, or place, or purpose, I am assured he would flée the vsing of those auntient Tuscane words. And in vsing them, beside that he should be a laughing stocke, he should bring no small loathsomnesse to him that heard them. Therefore me thinke it a straunge matter to vse those words for good in writing, that are to be eschued for naughtie in euery maner of speech: and to haue that which is neuer proper in speech, to bée the properest way a man can vse in writing: for so much as (in mine opinion) writing is nothing else but a maner of speech, that remaineth still after a man hath spoken, or (as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the words. And therefore in speech, which as sone as the sound is pronounced, vanisheth away, peraduenture some things are more to be borne withall, than in writing. Because writing keepeth the words in store, and referreth them to the iudgement of the reader, and giueth time to examine them deeply. And therefore reason willeth, that greater diligence should be had therein, to make it more trim and better corrected: yet not so, that the written words should be vnlike the spoken, but in writing to chose out the fairest and properest of signification that be vsed in speaking. And if ỹ should be lawful in writing which is not lawful in speaking, there should arise an inconuenience of it

Old words to be eschued both in speaking and writing.

What writing is.

(in my iudgement) very great: namely, that a man might vse a greater liberty in the thing, where he ought to vse most diligence, and the labour he bestoweth in writing, in stead of furtherance should hinder him. Therefore it is certain, whatsoeuer is allowed in writing, is also allowed in speaking: and that speach is most bewtiful, that is like vnto bewtiful writings. And I iudge it much more behouefull to be vnderstood in writing than in speaking, because they that write are not alwaies present with them that read as they that speake with thē that speake. Therfore would I commend him, that beside the eschuing of many auncient Tuscane words, would apply himselfe also to vse both in writing and speaking, such as now adaies are in vse in Tuscan and in other parts of Italy, and that haue some grace in pronunciation. And (in my minde) whoso followeth any other trade, is not assured not to run into that curiositie so much blamed, which we haue spoken of before. Thē spake sir Frederick: I cannot deny you, Count Lewis, that writing is not a manner of speaking. But this I say, if the words ẏ are spoken haue any darknes in them, that communication pierceth not the minde of him that heareth: and passing without being vnderstood, wareth vaine and to no purpose: the which doth not happen in writing, for if the words that the writer vseth bring with them a litle (I will not say difficultie) but couered subtiltie, and not so open, as such as be ordinarily spoken, they giue a certaine greater authoritie to writing, and make the reader more heedfull to pause at it, and to ponder it better, & he taketh a delight in the wittines and learning of him that writeth, and with a good iudgement, after some paines taking, he tasteth the pleasure that consisteth in hard things. And if the ignorance of him that readeth be such, that he cannot compasse that difficultie, there is no blame in the writer, neither ought a man for all that to thinke that tongue not to be faire. Therefore in writing, I holde opinion it is necessarie for a man to vse the Tuscane words, and onely such as haue bene vsed among the auncient Tuscans: for it is a great testimoniall, and approued by time, that they bee good and of pythie signification, in that they bee applyed to. And beside this, they haue that grace and Maiestie that antiquitie

What is allowed in writing, is allowed in speaking.

Why writing ought to be more vnderstood than speaking.

dignitie giueth not onely to words, but vnto buildings, Images, paintings, and to euery thing that is of force to preserue it. And many times with this only brightnesse & dignitie, they make the forme of sentences very faire, and through the vertue and eligãcie therof, euery matter how base soeuer it be, may be so decked out, that it may deserue very great commendation. But this your custome, that you make so much ado of, appeareth vnto me very daungerous, and many times it may be naught. And if any vice of speech be taken vp of many ignorant persons, me thinke for all that it ought not to be receiued for a rule, nor folowed of other. Besides this, customes be many and diuers, and ye haue not a notable Citie in Italy, that hath not a diuerse maner of speech from all the rest. Therefore if ye take not the paines to declare which is the best, a man may as wel giue himself to ỹ Bergamask tongue, as to the Florentine, and to follow your aduise it were no errour at all. Me seemeth then, who so will be out of doubt and well assured, it is requisite for him to determine with himselfe to follow one, that by all mens accord is iudged good, and to take him for a guide alwaies, & for a shield against such as will go about to finde fault, and that I thinke ought to be none other, (I meane in the vulgar tongue) but Petrarca & Boccaccio: and who so swarueth from these two, goeth all at aduenture, as he that walketh in the darke without light, and therefore many times strayeth from the right way. But we are so hardie now a dayes, that we disdaine to do as other good mẽ of auntient time haue done: that is to say, to take diligent heed to following, without the which, I iudge no man can write wel. And me thinke Virgill declareth a great trial of this, who for all that with his so diuine a witte and iudgement, he take all hope from his posteritie for any to follow him at any time, yet would he follow Homer. Then the Lord Gasper Pallauicin: This disputation (quoth he) of writing in very deed is worthy the hearing: Yet were it more to our purpose, if you would teach in what sort the Courtier ought to speake, for mée thinke he hath more néed of that, and he serueth his turne oftner with speaking than with writing. The Lady Iulian answered: There is no doubt, but so excellent & perfect a Courtier hath néed

So many Cities, so many diuerse maner of speeches in Italy. The Bergamaske tong the most barbarous in Italy.

Petrarca. Boccaccio.

Imitation.

Virgill.

to vnderstand both the one and the other: and without these two qualities, peraduenture all the rest should not be much worthy prayse: therefore if the Count will fulfill his charge, he shall teach the Courtier not onely to speake, but also to write wel. Then said the Count: I will not (my Lord) vndertake this enterprise, for it should be a great folly for me to teach an other that I vnderstand not my selfe. And though I were skilfull in it, yet can I not see how I should thinke to doe the thing in so fewe words, which great clarkes haue scarce done with such great studie & diligence, vnto whose writings I would remit our Courtier, if it were so, that I were bound to teach him to write and to speake. The L. Cesar then said: The L. Iulian meaneth the speaking and writing the vulgar tongue, and not Latin, therfore those writings of great Clarks are not for our purpose. But you must shew vs in this behalfe as much as you know, as for the rest ye shalbe held excused. I haue alreadie said, answered the Count. But in reasoning vpon the Tuscane tongue, perhappes it were rather the Lady Iulians part, than any mans else to giue iudgement in it. The Lady Iulian said: I cannot, nor of reason ought to speake against him, that sayeth the Tuscane tongue is fairer than all the rest. Truth it is, there are are many wordes in Petrarca and Boccaccio, worne out of vse now adayes: and such would I neuer vse, neither in speaking, nor in writing, and peraduenture they themselues, if they were now alive, would vse them no more. Then spake Syr Fredericke: no doubt but they would vse them still. And you Lordes of Tuscane ought to renue your tongue, and not to suffer it decay, as you doe: for a man may say now, that there is lesse knowledge in Florence, than in many other places of Italy. Then answered Maister Bernard: those wordes that are no more in vse in Florence, doe still continue among the men of the Countrey, and are refused of the Gentlemen for wordes corrupt and decayed by antiquitie. Then the Dutchesse, let vs not swarue (quoth shee) from our first purpose, but let vs make Count Lewis teach the Courtier to speake and to write well, bee it Tuscane, or what euer else. The Count answered: I haue already spoken

Words in Petrarca and in Boccaccio not to be vsed.

spoken (Madame) what I knowe. And I suppose the very same rules that teach the one, may also serue to teach the other. But since ye commaund me, I will make answere vnto Sir Fredericke what commeth in my head, for I am of a contrary opinion to him. And peraduenture I shall be driuen to answere somewhat more darkely then will be allowed, but it shall be as much as I am able to say. And first I say, that (to my iudgement) this our tongue which I name the vulgar tongue, is tender and new, for all it hath bene now vsed a long while. For in that Italy hath bene, not onely vexed and spoyled, but also inhabited a long time with barbarous people, by the great resort of those Nations, the Latine tongue was corrupted and dessroyed, and of that corruption haue sprong other tongues. The which like the Riuers that depart from the top of the Appennine, and runne abroad toward the two Seas: so are they also diuided, and some dyed with the Latine speech, haue spread abroad sundrie wayes, some into one part, and some into an other, and one dyed with barbarousnesse hath remained in Italy. This then hath a long time bene among vs out of order: and diuerse, because there was none that would bestowe diligence about it, nor write in it, ne yet seeke to giue it brightnesse, or any grace: Yet hath it bene afterward brought into better frame in Tuscane, than in the other parts of Italy. And by this it appeareth, that the flower of it hath remained there euer since those first termes, because that Nation hath kept proper and sweete accents in the pronunciation, and an order of Grammer, where it was meete, more than the other. And hath hadde three noble writers, which wittily both in wordes and tearmes, that custome did allowe in their time, haue exprelled their conceits, and that hath happened (in my minde) with a better grace to Petrarca, in matters of loue than to any of the other. Where there arose afterward from time to time, not onely in Tuscane, but in all Italy, among Gentlemen brought vp in Court, in armes, and in letters, some studie to speake and to write more finely than they did in that first rude age, when the turmoyle of the miseries

The vulgar tongue of Italy is a new tong.

How the Italian tongue was corrupted.

Petrarca Dante. Boccaccio

that rose through barbarous nations, was not as yet quieted, many words haue bene left out, as well in Florence it self, and in all Tuscane, as in the residue of Italy, and other brought in, in their stead, and made in this behalf the alteration that happeneth in all worldly things: the which also hath euermore chaunced in other tongues. For in case those auntient Latin writings had lasted hitherto, we should see that Euander and Turnus, & the other Latins in those daies, spake otherwise than did afterward ỳ last kings of the Romanes, & the first Consuls. You may see the verses sung by the Salij were scantly vnderstood of their posteritie: but because it was so ordained by the first inuenters of it, they were not altered for reuerence of religion. So from time to time Orators and Poets forsake many words that had bene vsed among their predecessors: for Antonius, Crassus, Hortẽsius, & Cicero, eschued many that Cato had vsed, & Virgill many of Enniꝰ, and so did the rest. For albeit they had antiquitie in great reuerence, yet did they not esteem them so much that they would be so bound to them, as you would haue vs now. Yea, where they thought good, they spake against them, as Horace, that saith his predecessors did foolishly praise Plautus, which would that we should haue the authoritie to bring vp new words. And Cicero in many places reprehẽdeth many of his predecessors, and to blame S. Gidba, he saith that his Orations smelled of antiquitie. And affirmeth that Ennius also in some points set little by his predecessors, so that if we will follow them of old time, we shall not follow them. And Virgill that you say followed Homer, folowed him not in ỳ tongue. Therfore would I (for my part) alwayes shunne the vse of those auntient words, except it were in certain clauses, and in thẽ very seldome. And (in my iudgement) he ỳ vseth them otherwise, cõmitteth a no lesse error, than who so would to follow them of old time, sed vpõ mault, where he hath now abundance of corne found out. And because you say, that the auntient words only with the brightnes of antiquitie, deck out so highly euery matter, how base soeuer it be, that it may make it worthy great commendation: I say vnto you, that not of these auntient words onely, but of those that be good indeed, I make so small account, that I suppose without the ayde of

Speeches chaunge from time to time.

The Priests of Mars.

Men neuer delike in words worne out with time.

Horace.

Cicero.

of faire sentences, they ought of reason to be litle set by. For to di- Words with-
uide the sentences from the words, is the diuiding of the soule frō out faire sen-
the body, the which cannot be done, neither in the one nor in the tences litle
other, without destruction ensue vpon it. That therefore which is worth.
the principall matter and necessary for a Courtier to speake, and
write well, I beleeue is knowledge. For he that hath not know- Knowledge
ledge and the thing in his minde that deserueth to be vnderstood, necessary to
can neither speake nor write it. Then must he couch in a good or- speake and
der that he hath to speake or to write, and afterward expresse it write well.
well with words: the which (if I be not deceiued) ought to be What words
apt, chosen, cleare, & wel applied, and (aboue al) in vse also among ought to be.
the people: for very such make ỳ greatnesse and gorgeousnesse of
an Oration, so he that speaketh hath a good iudgement and head-
fulnes withal, & the vnderstanding to pick such as be of most pro-
per signification, for ỳ he intendeth to speake and commend, and
tempring them like ware after his owne minde, applieth them in
such part & in such order, that at the first shewe they may set forth
and do mē to vnderstand ỳ dignity and brightnesse of them, as ta-
bles of painting placed in their good & natural light. And this do I Things neces-
say, as well of writing as of speaking, wherin certaine things are sary in spea-
requisite that are not necessary in writing, as a good voyce, not to king.
subtil or soft, as in a woman: nor yet so boystrous and rough, as in The voyce.
one of the countrey, but shril, cleare, sweet and wel framed with a
prompt pronunciation, and with fit maners & gestures, which (in
my minde) consist in certaine motions of all the body, not affected
nor forced, but tempred with a manerly countenance, and with a
moning of the eies that may giue a grace & accord with ỳ words,
and (as much as he can) signifie also with gestures, the intent and
affection of the speaker. But all these things were in vaine and of The sentences
smal account, if the sentences expressed by ỳ words should not bee
faire, witty, subtill, fine and graue according to ỳ matter. I doubt
said ỳ M. Morello, if this Courtier speak with such finenes, & gra-
uity among vs, there wil be some ỳ wil not vnderstād him. Nay,
euery one shal vnderstād him, answered ỳ Count, for finenes hin-
dreth not ỳ easinesse of vnderstanding. Neither wil I haue him to What he must
speak allwaies in grauity, but of pleasāt matters, of merry cōceits, speake of.

of honeſt deuiſes, and of ieaſts according to the time, & in all not withſtanding after a pithy maner, and wõ cõdines & variety without confuſion, neither ſhal he in any part thewe vanity or childiſh folly. And when he ſhal then cõmune of a matter ẏ is dark & hard, I wil haue him both in wordes and ſentences well pointed, to expreſſe his iudgement, & to make euery doubt cleare & plain after a certain diligent ſort without tediouſneſſe. Likewiſe (when he ſhall ſee time) to haue the vnderſtanding to ſpeake with dignity & behemencie, & to raiſe thoſe affectiõs which our minds haue in thẽ, and to inflame or ſtirre thẽ according to ẏ matter: ſomtime with a ſimplicity of luch mãnes of mind, ẏ a man would wẽne nature her ſelf ſpake to make thẽ tender, & (as it were) drunken wõ lwẽtnes: & with ſuch conueiance of eaſines, that who ſo heareth him, may cõceiue a good opinion of himſelfe, & thinke ẏ he alſo with very little ado, might attaine to ẏ perfection, but when he cõmeth to ẏ proſe, ſhall finde himſelfe farre wide. I would haue our Courtier to ſpeake and write in ẏ ſort, and not onely chooſe gorgeous and fine wordes out of euery part of Italy, but alſo I would iudge him worthy praiſe to vſe ſome of thoſe termes both French ano Spaniſh, which by our cuſtome haue bin admitted. Therfore it ſhould not miſlike me, falling ſo to purpoſe, to ſay, *Vaũtcourrour*, to ſay, *to aſcertain, to auẽture*, to ſay, *to pierce through a body with talke*, meaning therby to vſe a familiarity wõ him, and to grope him to get of him ſome perfect knowledge: to ſay, *a royal gentlemã, a neat man to be about a prince*, & ſuch other terms, ſo he may think to be vnderſtood. Sometime I would haue him take certaine wordes in an other ſignification than ẏ is proper to them, & wreſting them to his purpoſe (as it were) graffe thẽ like a graffe of a trẽ in a more lucky ſtock, to make thẽ more ſightly & faire, & (as it were) drawe the matter to the ſenſe of the very eyes, and (as they ſay) make them felte with hand, for the delite of him that heareth, or readeth. Neither would I haue him to ſticke to forge new alſo, and with new figures of ſpeech, deriuing thẽ featly frõ the Latins, as the Latins in old time derined from the Grecians. In caſe then of ſuch learned men, both of good wit and iudgement, as new adaies may be picked out among vs, there were ſome that would beſtowe their

To ſpeake to raiſe affectiõs.

Certain terms out of ẏ French and Spaniſh, which ſound not ſo well in Engliſh, nor can be applied to our phraſe.

Words in an other ſignification.

To forge new words.

trauell

trauell to write after the manner that he haue spoken of, in this tongue things worth the reading, we should some sée it in good frame, and flowing with termes and good phrases, and so copious that a man might as well write in it, as in any other tongue: and though it were not the mere antient Tuscane tong, yet should it be the Italian tongue, commune, plentiful, and variable, and (as it were) like a delicious garden full of sundrie flowers and fruites.

V. tongues of Greece.

Neither should this be a new matter: for of the foure tongues that were in vse among the Gréeke writers, picking out of euerie word, maner and rules as they thought mete, they raised thereby an other, which was named the Commune tongue, and afterward all fiue they called with one name the Gréeke tongue. And albeit the Athenian tongue was more fine, purer, and eloquenter than the rest, yet did not the good writers that were not of Athens borne, so affect it, but in the stile of writing, and (as it were) in the smack and propertie of their naturall speech, they were wel inough known: neither were they any whit the lesse regarded for all that, but rather such as would appeare ouer-mere Athenians were blamed for it. Among the Latin writers in like case many there were in their dayes much set by that were no Romanes, although there appeared not in them that proper and peculiar purenesse of the Romane tongue, which men of an other nation can very seldome attaine. In times past T. Liuius was not neglected,

T. Liuius.

although some one saide he founde in him mere Padowan.

Virgill.

Nor Virgill, for that he was reprehended that he spake not Romain. And (as you know) there were also read, and much set by in Rome, many writers of barbarous nations. But we more precise a great deale than they of olde time, do binde our selues with

The vulgar tongue ought not to be dark

certaine new lawes out of purpose: and hauing the broad beaten way before our eyes, lacke through gaps to walke in vnknowne pathes. For in our owne tongue, whose office is (as all others) to expresse well and clearely the conceits of the mind, we delight in darkenesse, and calling it the vulgar tongue, will vse in it wordes, that are not onely not vnderstood of the vulgar people, but also of the best sort of men, and that men of learning, and are not vsed in any part, nor regarding that all good wri-

ters

ters of old time blamed such words as were refused of custom, the which you (in my minde) do not wel know: forsomuch as you say, if any vice of speech be take vp of many ignorant persons, it ought not to be called a custome, nor received for a rule of speech. And (as at other times I haue heard you say) ye wil haue again in stead of Capitolio, we should say Capidoglio: for Ieronymo, Girolamo: Aldace, for Audace: & for Patrone, Padrone: & such corrupt: & mingled words, because they haue bene found so written by some ignorant Tuscan of old time, and because the men of the countrey speake so in Tuscan now a dayes. The good vse of speech therfore I beleeue, ariseth of men that haue witte, and with learning and practise haue gotten a good iudgement, and with it consent and agree to receiue the words that they thinke good, which are knowne by a certaine naturall iudgement, and not by art or any manner rule. Do you not know, that figures of speech which giue such grace and brightnesse to an Oration, are all the abuse of Grammer rules, but yet are receiued and confirmed by vse, because men are able to make no other reason but that they delight, and to the very sence of our ears it appeareth, they bring a life and a sweetnes? And this beleeue I is good custom, which ỳ Romans, the Neapolitans, ỳ Lombards, & the rest, are as apt to receiue, as the Tuscans. Truth it is, in euery tong some things are alwayes good, as easinesse to be vnderstood, a good order, variety, picked sentences, clawses wel framed: and on the other side Affectatiõ, and the other contrary to these, are to be shunned. But of words some there are that last a good time, and afterward ware stale, & cleane lose their grace: othersome take forze and crepe into estimation: for as the seasons of the yeare make leaues and fruite to fall, and afterward garnish the trees a fresh with other: Euen so, doth time make those first words to fall, and vse maketh other to spring a fresh, and giueth them grace and estimation, vntil they in like sort be consumed by little and little with the enuious byting of time come to their end, because at the last both we and whatsoeuer is ours, are mortall. Consider with your selues, that we haue no more any knowledge of the Osca tongue. The prouinciall tong, that (a man may say) the last day was renowmed of noble

Meere Tuscane writing of certaine words.

Figures of speech. Abuse of grammer rules.

Good custom.

Things good in euery tong.

Tongs decayed with time.

writers

writers, now is it not vnderstood of the inhabitants of the Country. I beleeue therefore (as the L. Iulian hath said) that were Petrarca & Boccaccio, at this present in life, they would not vse many words that we see in their writings. Therefore (in mine opinion) it is not wel done to follow them therein. Yet do I much commend thē that can follow that ought to be followed: but notwithstanding I beleeue it be possible inough to write wel without following, and especially in this our tongue, wherein we may be helped by custome, the which I will not take vpon me in the Latin. Then sir Frederick, why will you (quoth he) custome should be more apprised in the vulgar tongue, than in ỹ Latin? Nay, both in the one and the other (answered the Count) I iudge custome ought to be the mistresse. But forsomuch as those men, vnto whō the Latin tongue was as proper as is ỹ vulgar tong now to vs, are no more in the world, we must learne of their writings that they learned by vse and custome: neither doth auntient speech signifie any thing else but an auntient custome of speech: and it were a fond matter to loue the auntient speech for nothing else but to speake rather as men did speak, than as men do speak. Did not they then of olde time follow, answered Sir Fredericke? I beleeue, quoth ỹ Count, many did follow, but not in euery point. And if Virgil had altogether followed Hesiodus, he should not haue passed him, nor Cicero Crassus, nor Ennius his predecessors. Behold Homer, who is so auncient that he is thought of many to be the first heroicall Poet, as well of time, as also of excellencie of phrase: and whom will you haue him to haue followed? Some other, answered Sir Frederick, more auntient than he was, which we heare not of, by reason of too much antiquitie. Whom wil you say then Petrarca & Boccaccio followed, said the Count, which (a man may say) were but three dayes agoe in the world? I know not, answered sir Frederick, but it is to be thought they in like wise bent their mind to following, though we know not of whom. The Count answered: a man may beleeue that they ỹ were followed, were better than they that did follow: and it were too great a wonder that their name and renowme, if they were good, should so soone be cleane lost. But I beleeue their very maister was wit,

Antiēt speech antiēt custome of speech.

Old writers did not imitate in all points.

and

A man may write well without imitation.

and their own natural inclination and iudgement. And therat no man ought to wonder, for (in a manner) alwayes a man by sundry wayes may climbe to the top of all perfection. And there is no matter, that hath not in it many things of like sort vnlike the one to the other, which for all that among themselues deserue a like praise. Marke me musick, wherin are harmonies sometime of base sound and slowe, and otherwhile very quicke and of new deuises, yet do they all recreate a man: but for sundry causes, as a man may perceiue in the manner of singing that Bidon vseth, which is so artificial, cunning, vehement, stirred, and such sundrie melodies, that the spirits of ỹ hearers moue all and are inflamed, and so listning, a man would wẽn they were lift vp into heauen. And no lesse doth our Marchetto Cara moue in his singing, but with a more soft harmony, that by a delectable way and full of mourning sweetnesse maketh tender and pearceth the minde, and sweetly imprinteth it in a passion full of great delight. Sundry things in like manner do equally please our eyes so much, ỹ a man shal haue much ado to iudge in which they most delite. Behold in painting Lenard Vnico, Mantegna, Raponale, Michelangelo, George of Castelfranco: they al are most excellent doers, yet are they in working vnlike, but in any of thẽ a man would not iudge ỹ there wanted ought in his kind of trade: for euery one is known to be of most perfectiõ after his maner. The like is of many Poets both Greek & Latin, which being diuerse in writing, are alike in praise. Orators also haue alwaies had such a diuersitie amõg thẽ, as (in a maner) euery age hath brought forth & let by one sort of Orators peculiar for the time, which haue bene vnlike and disagreeing not only to their predecessors & followers, but also among themselues. As is written among ỹ Grecians of Isocrates, Lysias, Eschines, & many other excellent, but yet like vnto none saue thẽselues. And among ỹ Latins, Carbo, Lælius, Scipio, Africanus, Galba, Sulpitius, Cotta, Gracous, Marcus Antonius, Crassus, & so many, that it should be long to repeate them, all good and most diuerse one from another. So that who so could consider all the Orators that haue bene in the world, he should finde so many Orators, so many kindes of speech. We thinke I remem-

Musicke.

Sundry sorts of Musicke and all delite.

Sundry Painters perfect in sundry kind of trades.

Greeke Orators.

Latin Orators.

ber also ꝑ Cicero in a place bringeth in Marcus Antonius to say vnto Sulpitius, that there are many that follow no man, and yet climbe they to a high degrée of excellencie. And speaketh of certain that had brought vp a new stile and phrase of speaking faire, but not vsed of the Orators of that time, wherin they followed none but themselues. Therefore he affirmeth also that maisters should consider the nature of their scholers, & taking it for their guide, direct and prompt them in the way that their wit & natural inclinatiõ moueth them vnto. For this cause therfore sir Frederick do I beléeue if a man haue not an inclination vnto some author whatsoeuer he be, it were not well done to force him to following. Because the vertue of that disposition of his, some fainteth and is hindred, by reason that it is a stray out of the way in which he would haue profited, had he not bin stopped in it. I know not then how it wil stand well, in stead of inriching this tongue, and of giuing it maiestie and light, to make it poore, slender, bare and dark, and to séeke to shut it vp into so narrow a rome, that euery man should be cõpelled to follow only Petrarca & Boccaccio, & that we should not also in ꝑ tong, credit Laurẽce de Medicis, Francis Diaceto, and certaine other that notwithstanding are Tuscans, & perhaps of no lesse learning & iudgement than Petrarca & Boccaccio. And truly it should be a great misery to stoppe without wading any further thã almost ꝑ first that euer wrote: & to dispaire ꝑ so many and so noble wits shal neuer find out any mo thã one good maner of speech in ꝑ tongue ꝑ vnto them is proper & natural. But now a daies there be some so scrupulous, ꝑ (as it were) with a religiõ and high misteries of this their Tuscan tong, put as many as heareth thẽ in such dread, ꝑ they bring in like case many gentlemen & learned men into such awe, ꝑ they dare not opẽ their mouth: & confesse plainly, ꝑ they cannot speake the tongue which they haue learned of their Nurses, euen from their Cradle. But in this poynt (me thinke) wée haue spoken too much. Therefore let vs now proceed in our communication of the Courtier. Then answered sir Fredericke: but first I wil say this litle, which is, that I denye not but the opinions and wittes of men are diuers among themselues: neither do I iudge it comely for one

So many Orators, so many kinds of speech. De oratore lib. 1.

Lib. 2.

An error to imitate none but Boccaccio and Petrarca.

that

that is vehement and quick of nature to take in hand to write of soft and quiet matters. Nor yet for an other that is seuere and graue to write of merry conceits. For in this point, me think, it is reason euery man should apply himselfe to his owne proper inclination. And of this I beléeue spake Cicero, when he said that maisters should haue a cõsideratiõ to ỹ nature of their schollers, least they should do like the ill husbandman, that sometime in a soyle that is good onely for vines, wil sowe graine. But it wil not sinke into my head why in a particular tongue, ỹ is not so proper vnto all men, as are discourses and conceits, and many other operations, but an inuention contained vnder certaine termes, a man may not with more reason follow thẽ that speake best, than speak at al auenture. And that, as in the Latin tongue a man ought to apply himselfe to be in ỹ tongue like vnto Virgil, & Cicero, rather thã Silius and Cornelius Tacitus, so in the vulgar tongue why it were not better to follow ỹ tongue of Petrarca & Boccaccio, than any mans else: and therein exprelle well his owne conceits, and so apply himself (as Cicero saith) to his own naturall inclination. And thus shall the difference which you say is betwéen the good Orators, be found to consist in the sences and not in the tongue. Then the Count, I feare me (quoth he) we shal enter into a large sea, and leaue our first purpose of the Courtier. But I would know of you, wherin consisteth the goodnesse of this tongue? Sir Frederick answered: In keeping wel the propertie of it, and in taking it in the signification (vsing the same stile and measure) that al such haue done as haue written well. I would know then, qd. ỹ Count, whether this stile & measure which you speak of, arise of ỹ sentẽces or of ỹ words? Of the words, answered sir Frederick. Do you not thinke then quoth Count, that ỹ words of Silius and Cornelius Tacitus, are the very same ỹ Virgil & Cicero vse and taken in the same signification? Sir Frederick answered: they are the very same indéed, but some ill applied and diuersly taken. The Count answered: In case a man should picke out of a booke of Cornelius & of Silius, all the words placed in other signification than is in Virgil and Cicero, (which should be very few) would you not then say that Cornelius in the tongue were equall with

Wherin cõsisteth ỹ goodnes of the tongue.

Cicero,

Cicero, and Silius with Virgil? Then the L. Emilia, me thinks (quoth she) this your disputation hath lasted too long: and hath beene very tedious, therefore it shall be best to deferre it vntill an other time. Sir Fredericke beganne still to make answere, but the L. Emilia alwaies interrupted him. At last the Count said: many will iudge of stiles, and talke of numbers and measures, and of following, but they cannot do me to vnderstand what manner a thing stile and measure is, and wherein following consisteth: Nor why thinges taken out of Homer or any other, are so well couched in Virgill, that they appeare rather amplyfied than followed, and peraduenture the occasion thereof is, that I am not able to conceiue it. But because a great argument that a man vnderstandeth the thing, is the vnderstanding that he hath to teach it, I feare me they themselues haue small vnderstanding in it, and praise Virgill and Cicero, because they heare them praised of many, not for that they know the difference betweene them and others, which out of peraduenture consisteth not in ỹ obseruation of two or three, or of ten words, vsed after a diuers maner frō other. In Salust, in Cesar, in Varro, and in other good writers, there are found some termes applyed otherwise than Cicero applyeth them, and both the one and the other doth well inough. Because in so trifling a matter the goodnesse and perfection of a tongue doth not consist, as Demosthenes answered Eschines well, that had taken him vp, demaunding him of certaine wordes which he hadde vsed, and yet were not auntient, what monsters or wonderous matters they were? Whereat Demosthenes laughed, and answered him, that the fortunes of Greece dependeth not vpon them. Euen so would I passe full little, if a Tuscane should reprehend me for speaking rather Satisfatto, than Sodisfatto: and Honorevole, than Horrevole: and Causa: than Cagioue: and Populo, than Popolo, and such other matters. Then arose sir Fredericke vpon his feete, and said: I beseech ye giue the hearing of these fewe words. The Lady Emilia answered laughing: vpon my displeasure I forbid any of you to talke any more in this matter, for I will haue you to breake it off vntill an other night.

Many talkers of imitations.

Demosthenes answere to Eschines.

Diuersitie of certaine Tuscane words, with the rest of Italy.

But you Count, proceed you in your communication of the Courtier, and let vs see how good a memorie you haue: for I beleeue if ye can knit it againe where you brake off, ye shall not be a little. Madame, answered the Count, me thinke the thred is broken in sunder, but if I be not deceiued, I trowe we said that pestilent curiositie doth alwayes giue an ill grace vnto all things: and contrariwise simplicitie and Recklesnesse a maruelous good grace. In commendation whereof, and in dispraise of curiositie, many other things might be said, yet will I alledge but one moe, and then haue done. All women generally haue a great desire to be, and when they cannot bee, at the least to appeare beautiful. Therfore where nature in some part hath not done her deuoir therin, they indeuor themselues to supply it with art. Of this ariseth the trimming of the face, with such study, and many times paines, the pilling of the browes & forehead, & the bling of al thos maner waies, & the auoiding of such lothsomnes you womē beleue are kept very secret frō men, & yet do al men know thē. The La. Cōstāce Fregosa laughed at this & said: you shuld do much better to go forward in your cōmunicatiō, & declare how a man may attaine a good grace, & speake of courting, than to discouer ỹ faults of men without purpose. Nay it is much to purpose answered the Count, because these defaults that I talk of take this grace from you: for they proceed of nothing else but of curiousnesse, whereby ye discouer openly vnto euery man the ouer-great desire that ye haue to be beautifull. Do you not mark how much more grace is in a woman, that if she doth trim her self, doth it so scarcely and so little, that who so beholdeth her, standeth in doubt whether she be trimmed or no: than in an other so bedawbed, that a man would ween she had a visor on her face, and dareth not laugh for making it chap: nor at any time changeth her colour, but when she apparelleth her selfe in the morning, and all the rest of the day standeth like an Image of wood without mouing, shewing her selfe onely in to ryth light, as crafty marchantmen do their cloathes in theyr darke lights. How much more then doth a man delight in one, I meane not foule, that is manifestly seene shee hath nothing vpon her face, though shee bee not white nor so red, but with her

Men that bestow no paine in setting out themselues.

her naturall colour somewhat wanne, sometime with blushing, or through other chance died with a pure rednesse, with her haire by happe out of order and ruffled, and with her simple & naturall gestures, without shewing her selfe to bestow diligence or studie to make her faire? This is that not regarded purenesse which best pleaseth the eyes and mindes of men, that stand alwayes in awe to be deceiued by art. White teeth is a good sight in a woman, for since they are not so in open sight as is ỹ face, but most cõmonly are hid, a man may thinke she bestoweth not so much labour about them, to make them white, as she doth in the face: yet who so should laugh without cause purposely to shewe them, should discouer the Art, and for all their faire witnesse should appeare vnto all men to haue a very ill grace, as Egnatius in Catullus. The like is in the hands, which beeing delicate, smothe, and faire, if they be shewed bare at a time when occasion is to occupie them, and not of purpose to shew ỹ beautie of thẽ, they leaue a very great desire of themselues, and especially after they are couered with gloues againe, for a man would iudge that in putting them on againe shee passeth not and little regardeth whether they bee in sight or no, and that they are so faire rather by nature, than by any studie or diligence. Haue ye not had an eye otherwhile, when eyther in the stretes going to Church, or in any other place, or in sporting, or by any other chaunce, it happeneth that a woman lifteth vp her clothes so high, that she sheweth her foote, and sometime a litle of her pretie legge vnwittingly? And seemeth shee not to you to haue a very good grace, if ye behold her then with a certaine womanly disposition, cleanely and precise, with her shoes of vellute, and her hose sitting cleane to her legge? Truly it delighteth me much, and I beleeue all of you: for euery man supposeth that Precisenesse in so secret a place, and so seldome seene, to bee vnto that woman rather naturall and proper, than forced, and that thereby shee thinketh to get her no commendation at all. In such sort is curiousnesse auoyded and couered, the which you may now conceiue how contrary it is, and taketh away the grace of euery operation and deed, as well of the body as of the minde,

White teeth.

Faire hands.

Clenly & precise in places seldome seen.

The minde.

whereof hitherto we haue spoken but little, and yet ought it not to be omitted, for as the minde is much more worthy than the body, so deserueth it also to be better decked & polished. And how that ought to be in our Courtier, (leauing apart the precepts of so many wise Philosophers that will write in this matter, and define the vertues of the minde, and so subtilly dispute of the dignitie of them) we will expresse in fewe words, applying to our purpose, that it is sufficient hée bée (as they terme it commonly) an honest man and well meaning: for in this is comprehended the goodnesse, the wisedome, the manlinesse, and the temperance of the minde, and all other qualities that belong to so worthy a man. And I recken him onely a true morall Philosopher that will be good, and to that, hée nédeth fewe other precepts than that will of his. And therefore said Socrates well, that hée thought his instructions hadde brought forth good fruite, when by them hée hadde prouoked any one to apply his will to the knowledge and learning of vertue. For they that are come to the poynt that they couette nothing more than to bée good, do easily attaine the vnderstanding of all that belongeth thereto: therefore heerein will wée make no more adoo. But beside goodnesse the true and principall ornament of the minde in euery man (I beléeue) are letters, although the Frenchmen know onely the nobleneſſe of armes, and passe for nothing beside: so that they do not onely not set by letters, but they rather abhorre them, and all learned men they do count very rascalles, and they thinke it a great villany when any one of them is called a clarke. Then answered the L. Iulian, you say very true, this error indéed hath long raigned among the Frenchmen. But if Monseigneour de Angoulisme haue so good luck that he may (as men hope) succéed in the Crowne, the glory of armes in Fraunce doth not so flourish nor is had in such estimation, as letters wil be, I beléeue. For it is not lōg since I was in France, and saw this prince in ꝑ Court there, who seemed vnto me beside the handsomenes of person & beautie of visage, to haue in his countenance so great a maiestie, accompanied neuertheleſſe with a certaine louely courteſie, that the Realme of Fraunce should euer

To apply a mans good will is profiting.

The French men make none account of learning.

Francis. 1. French king.

serue

seene vnto him a small matter. I vnderstood afterward by many gentlemen both French and Italian, very much of the most noble conditions, of the greatnesse of courage, prowesse and liberalitie that was in him: and among other things, it was tolde me, that he highly loued and esteemed letters, and had in very great reputation all learned men, and blamed the Frenchmen themselues that their minds were so far wide from this profession, especially hauing at their doores so noble an vniuersitie as Paris is, where all the world resorteth. The Count: It is a great wonder that in these tender yeares, onely by the prouocation of nature, contrary to the manner of the countrey, hee hath giuen himselfe to so good a way. And because subiects follow alwayes the conditions of the higher powers, it is possible that it may come to passe (as you say) that the French men will esteeme letters to be of that dignitie that they are indeed. The which (if they will giue eare thereto) they may soone be perswaded, for so much as men ought to count of nature nothing so much, and that is more proper for them, than knowledge: which thing it were a great folly to say or holde opinion that it is not alwayes good. And in case I might commune with them, or with other that were of a contrary opinion to me, I would do my diligence to shewe them, how much letters (which vndoubtedly haue bene graunted of God vnto men for a soueraigne gift) are profitable and necessary for our life and estimation. Neither should I want the examples of so many excellent Captaines of olde time, which all ioyned the Ornament of letters, with prowesse of armes. For (as you know) Alexander had Homer in such reuerence, that he laid his Iliads alwayes vnder his beds head: and he applied diligently not these studies onely, but also the speculations of Philosophy vnder the discipline of Aristotle. Alcibiades encreased his good conditions, and made them greater with letters, and with the instructions of Socrates. Also what diligence Cæsar vsed in studie, those things which he hath so diuinely written himselfe, make triall. It is said that Scipio Affricanus carried alwayes in his hand the bookes of Xenophon, wherein vnder the name of Cyrus, he instructeth a perfect king. I could recite vnto you Lucullus, Sylla, Pompeius, Brutus, & many other Romans and

Vniuersitie of Paris.

Knowledge.

How the great Alexander esteemed Homer, Plutarch in the life of Alexander.

Alcibiades Socrates scholler.

I. Cæsar.

Scipio Affricanus.

Pridia Xenophontis.

Greekians, but I will do no more but make mention of Hannibal, which being so excellent a captain (yet for all that of a fierce nature and void of all humanitie, an vntrue dealer, and a despiser of men, and of the Gods) had also vnderstanding in letters, and the knowledge of ỹ Greeke tongue. And if I be not deceiued (I trow) I haue read in my time, that he left a booke behinde him of his owne making, in the Greeke tongue. But this kinde of talke is more than needeth, for I know all you vnderstand how much the French men bee deceiued in holding opinion letters to do any hurt to armes. You know in great matters and auentures in warres the true prouocation is glory: and who so for lucres sake, or for any other consideration, taketh it in hand (beside that he neuer doth any thing worthy praise) deserueth not the name of a Gentleman, but is a most vile marchaunt. And euery man may conceiue it to be the true glory, that is stored vp in the holy treasure of letters, except such vnluckie creatures as haue had no taste thereof. What minde is so faint, so bashfull, and of so base a courage, that in reading the acts and greatnesse of Cæsar, Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, and so many other, is not incensed with a most feruent longing to be like them, and doth not preferre the getting of that perpetuall fame, before this rotten life that lasteth two dayes? which in despite of death, maketh him liue a great deale more famous than before. But he that sauoureth not the sweetnesse of letters, cannot know how much is the greatnes of glory, which is a long while preferred by thē, & only measureth it wᵗ the age of one or two mē, for further he beareth not in mind. Therfore can he not esteem this short glory so much as he would do that, which (in a maner) is euerlasting, if by his ill hap, he were not barred frō the knowledge of it. And not passing vpon it so much, reason perswadeth, and a man may well beleeue hee will neuer hazard himselfe so much to come by it, as he that knoweth it. I would not now some one of the contrary part should alledge vnto me the contrary effects to confute mine opinion withall, and tell me how the Italians with their knowledge in letters, haue shewed small prowesse in armes from a certaine time hitherto, the which neuertheless is too true: but in very deed a man may well say, that the offence

Hannibal learned.

Glory.

In letters the true glory.

Noble courages inflamed in reading the acts of famous captaines.

The vnlearned know glory.

Why the vnlearned seeke not to be famous.

Italians faint in armes.

of

of a fewe, hath brought (beside the great damage) an everlasting reproach to all other. And the very cause of our confusion, and of the neglecting of vertue in our minds, (if it be not cleane dead) proceded of them. But it were a more shamefull matter vnto vs to publish it, than vnto the French men the ignorance in letters.

Therefore it is better to passe that ouer with silence that cannot be rehearsed without sorrow, and leaning this purpose, into the which I am entred against my will, returning againe vnto our Courtier, whom in letters I will haue to be more then indifferently well learned, at the least in those studies which they call Humanitie, and to haue not only the vnderstanding of the Latin tongue, but also of the Greeke, because of the many and sundrie things that with great excellencie are written in it. Let him much exercise himselfe in Poets, and no lesse in Orators and Historiographers, and also in writing both ryme and prose, and especially in this our vulger tongue. For beside the contentation that he shall receiue thereby himselfe, he shall by this meanes neuer want pleasant entertainments with women, which ordinarily loue such matters. And if by reason eyther of his businesse beside, or of his slender study, he shal not attain vnto ỹ perfection that his writings may be worthy much cõmendatiõ, let him be circũspect in kéeping them close, least he make other men to laugh at him. Onely hée may shewe them to a friend whom hée may trust, for at the least wise he shall receiue so much profit, that by that exercise hée shall bée able to give his iudgement vpon other mens dooings. For it happeneth very seldome, that a man not exercised in writing, how learned so euer hée be, can at any time know perfectly the labour and toile of writers, or taste of the swéetenesse and excellencie of styles, and those inner obseruations that oftentimes are found in them of olde time. And beside that, those studies shall make him copious, and (as Aristippus answered that Myan) bolde to speake vpon a good ground with euery man. Notwithstanding I will haue our Courtier to kéepe fast in his minde one lesson, and that is this, to bée alwayes warye both in this and in euery other poynt, and rather fearefull than bolde, and beware that he perswade not himselfe falsely, to knowe the

The Courtier ought to be learned.

Inhumanitie
In the Latin & Greeke tong.
In Poets.
In Orators.
In Historiographer.
In writing ryme & prose.
What is to be done of a mãs writings.

The not practised cannot iudge.

Dionisius

To be rather warie thã bold in all things.

The words of flatterers ſweete.

thing he knoweth not indeed. Becauſe we are of nature all the ſort of vs much more greedie of praiſe than is requiſite, and better to our eares ſoune the melodie of words ſounding to our praiſe, than any other ſong or ſound that is moſt ſweete; and therefore many times, like the voyces of Mermayders, they are the cauſe of drowning him that doeth not well ſtop his eares at ſuch deceitfull harmonie. This daunger being perceiued, there hath bene among the auntient wiſe men that hath written bookes, how a man ſhould knowe a true friend from a flatterer. But what auayleth it? If there be any of them (or rather infinite) that manifeſtly perceiue there are flatterers, and yet loue him that flattereth them, and hate him that telleth them the truth, and oftentimes (ſtanding in opinion that he that praiſeth them, is to ſcarſe in his words) themſelues helpe him forward, and vtter ſuch matters of themſelues, that the moſt impudent flatterer of all is aſhamed of.

Men take no heed to flatterers.

Men flatter themſelues.

Let vs leaue theſe blinde buzzards in their owne errour, and make our Courtier of ſo good a iudgement, that hee will not bee giuen to vnderſtand blacke for white, nor preſume more of himſelfe, than what hee knoweth very manifeſtly to bee true, and eſpecially in thoſe things, which if hee beare well in mind, (the Lord Cæſar rehearſed in his deuice of paſtimes, that wee haue many times vſed for an inſtrument to make many become fooliſh. But rather that he may be aſſured not to fall into any errour, where he knoweth thoſe praiſes that are giuen him to bee true, let him not ſo openly conſent vnto them, nor confirme them ſo without reſiſtance, but rather with modeſtie (in a maner) deny them cleane, ſhewing alwaies, and counting in effect, armes to be his principall profeſſion, and all the other good qualities for an ornament thereof, and principally among ſouldiers, leaſt he bee like vnto them that in learning will ſeeme men of warre, and among men of warre, learned. In this wiſe for the reaſons we haue ſaid, he ſhall auoyd curioulneſſe, and the meane things which he taketh in hand, ſhall appeare very great. Here M. Peter Bembo anſwered: I know not (Count Lewis) how you will haue this Courtier, being learned, and of ſo many other vertuous qualities, to count euery thing for an ornament of armes, and not armes, and the reſt

How he ſhould auoid flatterers.

Letters an ornament of armes.

for

for an ornament of letters. The which without other addition, are in dignitie so much aboue armes, as the minde is aboue the bodie, because the practising of them belongeth properly to the mind, euē as the practising of armes doth to the body. The Count answered then, nay the practising of armes belongeth as well to the mind, as to the body. But I would not haue you (maister Peter) a iudge in this cause, for you would be too partiall to one of the parts. And for so much as this disputation hath already bene tossed a long time by most wise men, we need not to renue it, but I count it resolued vpon armes side, & will haue our Courtier (since I haue the fashioning of him at my will) thinke thus also. And if you be of a contrary opinion, tarrie till you heare a disputatiō, where it may be as wel lawfull for him that taketh part with armes, to vse his armes, as they that defend letters, vse inȳ defence the very same letters. Oh (quoth maister Peter) you rebuked the French men before for setting litle by letters, and declared what a great light of glory they shew vnto men, and how they make them immortall, and now it seemeth you are in an other opinion. Do you not remember that

Armes belong to the minde and body both

Petrarchæ Son. 155.

The great Macedo, when he proched neare
Fierce Achilles famous tombe, thus said and sight,
O happie Prince that found a trumpe so cleare,
And happie he that praisde so worthy a wight.

Alexander. Homer.

And if Alexander enuied Achilles, not for his deeds, but for his fortune that gaue him so great lucke to haue his acts renowned by Homer, a man may gather, he esteemed more ȳ letters of Homer, then the armes of Achilles. What other iudge then, or what other sentence looke you for, as touching the dignitie of armes and letters, then that which was giuen by one of the greatest Captaines that euer were? The Count answered: I blame the French men because they thinke letters hurt the profession of armes: and I hold opinion that it is not so necessary for any man to be learned, as it is for a men of warre. And these two points linked together, and ayded the one by the other (which is most fit) will I haue to be in the Courtier. Neither do I thinke my selfe for this to be in an other opinion, but (as I haue said) I will not dispute which of them

Quin. Cur. li. 8

The Courtier a man of war, and learned.

is

is most worthy praise, it sufficeth that learned men take not in hand at any time to praise any but great mē, & glorious acts, which of themselues deserue praise by their proper essentiall vertues from whence they arise. Beside that, they are a most noble Theme for writers, which is a great ornament, and partly the cause of continuance of writings, that peraduenture should not be so much read, and set by, if there wanted in them noble matter, but counted vaine, and of small reputation. And if Alexander enuied Achilles because he was praised of him that did it, yet doth it not cōsequently follow, that he esteemed letters more then armes. Wherein if he had knowne himselfe so farre wide from Achilles, as in writing he thought all they would be from Homer, that should go about to write of him, I am sure he would much sooner haue desired wel doing in himselfe, than well speaking in an other. Therefore thinke I that this was a close praise of himselfe, and a wishing for that hee thought he had not, namely the high excellencie of a writer, & not for that he thought with himselfe he had alreadie obtained, that is to say, the prowesse of armes, wherin he counted Achilles not any whit his superiour, wherfore he called him happy, as it were signifying, where his fame in foretime was not so renowned in the world, as was the fame that by so diuine a Poeme was cleare and excellent, it proceeded not for that his prowes and deserts were not such, and worthy so much praise, but it arose of fortune, that had before hand prepared for Achilles, that miracle of nature for a glorious renowme and trumpet of his acts. And peraduenture againe he minded thereby to stirre vp some noble wit to write of himselfe, declaring thereby how acceptable it should be to him, for so much as he loued and reuerenced the holy monuments of letters: about the which we haue now spoken sufficient. May more than sufficient, answered the L. Lodouicus Pius. For I beleeue there is neuer a vessel in the world possible to be found so big, that shall be able to receiue all the things that you will haue in this Courtier. Thē the Count, abide yet a while (quoth he) for there be many other things to be had in him yet. Peter of Naples answered: After this maner Crassus de Medicis shal haue great aduantage of M. Peter Bēbo. At this they laughed. And the Count beginning a freshe, my Lords (quoth

Glorious acts a noble theme

Alexander thought himselfe not inferiour to Achilles.

What Alexander ment by calling Achilles happy.

(quoth he) you must thinke I am not pleased with the Courtier, if he be not also a Musition, and beside his vnderstanding and cunning vpon the booke, haue skill in like manner on sundrie Instruments. For if we wey it wel, there is no ease of the labors, and medicines of feeble mindes to be found more honest and more praiseworthy in time of leisure than it. And principally in Courts, where (beside the refreshing of vexations that musick bringeth vnto each man) many things are taken in hand to please women withall, whose tender and soft breasts are some pierced with melodie, and filled with sweetnesse. Therefore no marueil that in olde times and now a dayes, they haue alwaies bene inclined to Musitions, and counted this a most acceptable sort of the minde. When the Lord Gaspar, I beleeue musicke (quoth hee) together with many other vanities, is meete for women, and peraduenture for some also that haue the likenesse of men, but not for them that be men indeede, who ought not with such delicacies to womanish their mindes, and bring themselues in that sort to dread death. Speake it not (answered the Count) for I shall enter into a large sea of the praise of Musicke, and call to rehearsall how much it hath alwayes beene renowmed among them of olde time, and counted a holy matter: and how it hath bene the opinion of most wise Philosophers, that the world is made of musick, and the heauens in their moouing make a Melodie, and our soule framed after the very same sort, and therfore lifteth vp it selfe, and (as it were) reuiueth the vertues and force of it selfe with Musicke: wherefore it is written that Alexãder was sometime so feruently stirred with it, that (in a maner) against his will, he was forced to arise from banckets, and run to weapon, afterward the Musition chaunging the stroke, and his maner of tune, pacified himselfe again, and returned from weapon to banketting. And I shal tell you that graue Socrates whē he was well striken in yeares, learned to play vpon the harpe. And I remember I haue vnderstood, that Plato and Aristotle will haue a man that is well brought vp, to be also a Musition: and declare with infinit reasons the force of musicke to be to very great purpose in vs, and for many causes (that should be to lōg to rehearse, ought necessarily to be learned from a mans childhood, not only for the superficiall

The Courtier a Musition.

Musicke in estimation in olde time.

Alexander stirred with Musicke.

Xenophon a Musition.

Socrates being old, learned vpon the harp

Why musick is good.

perficiall melodie that is heard, but to be sufficient to bring into the a new habite that is good, and a custome enclining to vertue, which maketh the mind more apt to the conceiuing of felicitie, euen as bodily exercise maketh the body more lustie, and not onely hurteth not ciuill matters and warre-like affaires, but is a great stay to them. Also Lycurgus in his sharp lawes allowed musicke. And it is read that the Lacedemonians, which were valiant in armes, & the Cretenses, vsed harpes & other soft instruments: and many most excellent captaines of old time (as Epaminondas) gaue themselues to musicke: & such as had not a sight in it (as Themistocles) were a great deale the lesse set by. Haue you not read, that amōg the first instructions which the good old man Chiron taught Achilles in his tender age, whom he had brought vp from his nurse & cradle, musick was one? And the wise maister would haue those hāds that should shead so much Troyan bloud, to be oftentimes occupied in playing vpon the Harpe. What souldier is there (therefore) that will thinke it a shame to follow Achilles, omitting many other famous captaines that I could alledge? Do you not then depriue our Courtier of musicke, which doth not onely make sweete the mindes of men, but also many times wilde beastes tame: and who so fauoureth it not, a man may assuredly thinke him not to be well in his wittes. Beholde I pray you what force it hath, that in times past allured a fish to suffer a man to ride vpon him through the tempestuous sea. We may see it vsed in the holy Temples, to render laude and thankes vnto God, and it is a credible matter that it is acceptable vnto him, and that he hath giuen it vnto vs for a most sweete lightning of our trauels and vexations. So that many times the boysterous labourers in the fields, in the heate of the Sunne, beguile their paine with rude and carter-like singing.

With this the vnmannerly countrey woman, that ariseth before day out of her slepe, to spin and carde, defendeth her selfe, and maketh her labour pleasant. This is the most sweete pastime after raine, wind, and tempest, vnto the miserable marriners. With this do the very Pilgrimes comfort themselues in their troublesome and long voyages. And oftentimes prisoners, in aduersitie, fetters, and in stockes. In like manner for a great proofe, that the

Lieurgus.
The Lacedemonians.
The Cretenses, Epaminōdas.
Themistocles the lesse esteemed for not being a Musition.
Chiron, Achilles a Musition.
Wilde beasts delight in musicke.
Dolphins delight in musick
Musick acceptable to God.
Labourers.
Countrey women.
Marriners.
Pilgrimes.
Prisoners.

inableneſſe of Muſick (though it be but rude) is a very great refreſhing of all worldly paines and grieſes, a man would iudge that nature hath taught it vnto nurſes for a ſpecial remedie to the continuall wayling of ſucking babes, which at the ſound of their voyce fall into a quiet and ſweete ſléepe, forgetting the teares that are ſo proper to them, and gineuds of nature in that age, for a geſſe of the reſt of our life to come. Here the Count pauſing a while, the Lady Iulian ſaid: I am not of the Lord Gaſpers opinion, but I beléeue for the reaſons you alledge, and for many other, that Muſick is not onely an ornament, but alſo neceſſary for a Courtier. But I would haue you declare, how this and the other qualities which you appoynt him, are to bée practiſed, and of what time, and in what ſort. Becauſe many things that of themſelues be worthy praiſe, oftentimes in practiſing them out of ſeaſon, ſéeme moſt fooliſh. And contrariwiſe, ſome things that appeare to be of ſmall moment, in ỹ wel applying thē, are greatly eſtéemed. Then ſaid the Count: before wée enter into this matter, I wil talke of another thing, which for that it is of importance (in my iudgement) I beléeue our Courtier in no wiſe ought to leaue it out. And that is the cunning in drawing, & the knowledge in the very Art of painting. And wonder ye not I wiſh this feate in him, which now adayes perhaps is counted an handicraft, and ful litle to become a gentleman, for I remember I haue read that the men of old time, and eſpecially in al Greece, would haue gentlemens children in ỹ ſchooles to apply painting, as a matter both honeſt and neceſſarie. And this was receiued in the firſt degrée of liberall arts, afterward openly enacted not to bée taught to ſeruants and bondmen. Among the Romanes in like maner it was in very great reputation, and therof ſprung the ſurname of ỹ moſt noble family of Fabij, for the firſt Fabius was ſurnamed Pictor, becauſe indéede he was a moſt excellent Painter, and ſo addicted to painting, that after he had painted the walles of the temple of Health, he writ therein his name, thinking with himſelfe, that for all he was borne in ſo noble a family, which was honoured with ſo many titles of Conſulſhips and triumphes, and other dignities, and was learned and wel ſéene in the lawe, and rekned among

Sucking babes

Painting.

Gentlemens children learned to paint.

Painting forbid to bōdmē.

Fabius pictor.

Temple of health.

among Painters, to giue also an increase of brightnesse, and an ornament vnto his renowme, by leauing behind him a memory that he had bin a Painter. Therehaue not in like maner wanted many other of notable families that haue bin renowned in this art, of the which (beside that in it selfe it is most noble and worthy) there ensue many commodities, and especially in warre, to draw out Countreys, Platformes, Riuers, Bridges, Castles, Holdes, Fortresses, and such other matters, ỳ which though a man were able to kéepe in minde (and that is a hard matter to do) yet can he not shew them to others. And in very déed who so esteemeth not this Art, is (to my séeming) farre wide from all reason: for so much as the engine of the world that we behold with a large skie, so bright with shining starres, and in ỳ middes, the earth enuironed with the Seas, seuered in parts with Hilles, Dales, and Riuers, and so decked with such diuerse trées, beautiful flowers, and hearbes, a man may say it to be a noble and great painting, drawne with the hand of nature and of God: the which who so can follow, in mine opinion he is worthy of great commendation. Neither can a man attaine to this, without the knowledge of many things, as he well knoweth that tryeth it. Therefore had they of old time in very great estimation, both the art and the artificers, so that it came to the toppe of all excellencie. And of this may a mã gather a sufficient argument at the auntient Images of Marble and Mettall, which at this day are to be séene. And though painting be a diuerse matter from caruing, yet do they both arise of one selfe fountaine (namely) of a good patterne. And euen as the Images are diuine and excellent, so it is to bée thought paintings were also, and so much the more, for that they containe in them a greater workmanship. Then the L. Emilia turning her vnto Iohnchristopher Romano, that sate there among the rest, how thinke you (quoth she) to this iudgement, will you grant that painting containeth in it a greater workmanship than caruing? Iohnchristopher answered: in my mind caruing is of more trauell, of more art, and of a more dignitie than painting. Thẽ said ỳ Count: Because Images are more durable, perhaps a man may say that they are of a more dignitie. For sith they are

Necessary in Warre.

The world a painting.

Auntient Images.

Caruing.

made

made for a memory, they better satisfie ỳ effect why they be made thã painting. But beside memory, both painting and caruing are made also to set out a thing, & in this point hath painting a great deale the vpper hand, the which though it be not so long lasting (to terme it so) as caruing is) yet doth it for al that endure a lõg time, and for the while it lasteth, is much more sightly. Then answered Iohnchristopher: I beleeue verily you think not as ye speak, and all this do you for your Raphaels sake. And peraduenture to you iudge the excellencie you know to be in him in painting, to be of such perfection, that caruing in Marble cannot come to that degrée. But wey with your self that this is the praise of the artificer, and not of the art. Then he proceeded: And I iudge also both the one and the other to be an artificiall following of nature. But yet I know not how you can say, that the truth and property that nature maketh, cannot be followed better in a figure of Marble or Mettall, wherein the members are all round proportioned and measured as nature her self shapeth them, than in a Table, where men perceiue nothing but the outward sight, & those colours that deceiue the eyes: and say not to me that being, is not nigher vnto the truth than seeming. Againe, I iudge caruing in Marble much harder, because if ye make a fault, it cannot be amended again, for marble cãnot be ioyned together, but ye must be driuẽ to make a new Image, the which happeth not in painting, for a man may alter, put to, and diminish, alwaies making it better. The Count said laughing: I speake not for Raphaels sake: neither ought you to think me so ignorant a person, but I vnderstand the excellencie of Michaelangelo, of you your selfe, and of other men in caruing of Marble, but I speake of the art and not of the artificers. And you say wel, that both the one and the other is the following of nature. But for al that it is not so, that painting appeareth, & caruing is: for although Images are all round like ỳ liuely patterne, & painting is onely seene in outward apparance, yet want there many things in Images, ỳ want not in paintings, and especially lights and shadowes, for flesh giueth one light, and marble an other, and that both the Painter naturally follow with cleare and darke, more & lesse, as he seeth occasion, which the grauer in marble can-

Raphaell.

Why caruing is harder than painting.

Michaelangelo

not:

not do. And where the Painter maketh not his figure round, he maketh the muſcules and members in round wiſe, ſo that they go to mete with the parts not ſeene, after ſuch a maner, that a man may very well gather ỳ Painter hath alſo a knowledge in them, and vnderſtãdeth thẽ. And in this point he muſt haue another craft that is greater to frame thoſe members, that they may ſeem ſhort, and diminiſh according to the proportion of the ſight by the way of proſpective, which by force of meaſured lines, colours, lights, and ſhadowes, diſcouer vnto you alſo in the outward ſight of an vpright wal the plainnes and fairneſſe, more and leſſe as pleaſeth him. Thinke you it againe a trifling matter to counterfeit naturall colours, fleſh, cloath, and al other coloured things? This cannot now the grauer in Marble do, ne yet expreſſe the grace of the ſight that is in the black eyes, or in azure with the ſhining of thoſe amorous beames. He cannot ſhew the colour of yeilow haire, nor the gliſtering of armour, nor a darke night, nor a ſea tempeſt, nor thoſe twincklings and ſparckles, nor the burning of a Cittie, nor the ryſing of the morning in the colour of Roſes, with thoſe beams of purple and gold. Finally he cannot ſhew the ſky, the ſea, the earth, hilles, woods, meadowes, gardens, Riuers, Cities, nor houſes, which the Painter doth all. For this reſpect (me thinke) painting is more noble, and containeth in it a greater workmanſhip than graving in Marble. And among them of old time I beléeue it was in as high eſtimation as other things, in ỳ which alſo to be diſcerned by certain little remnants that are to be ſéene yet, eſpecially in places vnder ground in Rome, but much more euidently may a man gather it by olde writings, wherein is ſo famous and ſo often mention both of the works and workmen, that by them a man may vnderſtand in what high reputation they haue bin alwayes with Princes and common-weales. Therefore it is read, that Alexander loued highly Apelles of Epheſus, and ſo much, that after he had made him draw out a womã of his naked, whom he loued moſt dearly, and vnderſtãding that this good Painter, for her marueilous beautie was moſt feruently in loue with her, without any more ado, he beſtowed her vpõ him. Truly a worthy liberalitie of Alexãder, not to giue onely treaſures and ſtates,

Proſpectiue.

Wherein the Painter paſſeth the carucr.

Remnants of painting in Rome.

Alexander loued Apelles.

Alexanders gift to Apelles.

ſtates, but alſo his owne affections and deſires, and a token of very great loue toward Apelles, not regarding (to pleaſe him withall) the diſpleaſure of the woman that he highly loued, who it is to be thought was ſore agrieued to change ſo great a King for a Painter. There be many other ſignes rehearſed alſo of Alexāders good will towards Apelles, but he ſhewed plainly in what eſtimation he had him, when he commaunded by open proclamation no other Painter ſhould be ſo hardie to drawe out his picture. Here could I repeate vnto you the contentions of many noble Painters, with the greateſt commendation and maruell (in a manner) in the worlde. I could tell you with what ſolemnitie the Emperours of olde time decked out theyr tryumphes with paintings, and dedicated them vp in haunted places, and how deare it coſt them. And that there were ſome Painters that gaue their workes freely, ſeeming vnto them, no golde nor ſiluer was inough to value them. And how a table of Protogenes was of ſuch eſtimation, that Demetrius lying in campe before Rhodes, where he might haue entred the citie by putting fire to the place, where he wiſt this table was, for feare of burning it, ſtayed to bid them battell, and ſo he wan not the Citie at all. And how Metrodorus a Philoſopher, and a moſt excellent Painter, was ſent out of Athens to L. Paulus, to bring vp his children, and to decke out his triumph he had to make. And alſo many noble writers haue written of this art, which is a token great inough to declare in what eſtimation it hath bene. But I will not we proceed any further in this communication. Therefore it ſufficeth onely to ſay, that our Courtier ought alſo to haue a knowledge in painting, ſince it was honeſt and profitable, and much ſet by in thoſe dayes when men were of more prowelle than they are now. And though he neuer get other profit or delight in it (beſide it is a help to him to iudge of the excellencie of Images both olde and new, of veſſels, buildings, olde coynes, cameles, grauings, and ſuch other matters) it maketh him alſo vnderſtand the beautie of liuely bodies, and not onely in the ſweetneſſe of the phiſognomie, but in the proportion of all the reſt, as well in men as other liuing creatures. See then how the knowledge in painting is cauſe of very great pleaſure. And this let them thinke that do enioy

Only Apelles drew out his picture.

Louers ought to haue a ſight in it.

and view the beautie of a woman so throughly, that they thinke themselues in Paradise, and yet haue not the feate of painting, the which if they had, they would conceiue a farre greater contentation, for then should they more perfectly vnderstand the beautie that in their brest engendreth such harts ease. Here ỳ L. Cæsar laughed and said: I haue not the Art of painting, and yet I know assuredly I haue a far greater delight in beholding a woman in the world, than Apelles himselfe that was so excellent, whom ye named right now, could haue if he were now in life againe. The Count answered: This delite of yours proceedeth not wholy of beautie, but of the affectiõ which you perhaps beare vnto the woman. And if you wil tell the truth, the first time you beheld that woman, ye felt not the thousandeth part of the delight which you did afterward, though her beauty were the very same. Therfore you may cõceiue how affectiõ beareth a greater stroke in your delite thã beauty. I deny not that (quoth the L. Cæsar) but as delite ariseth of affection, so doth affection arise of beautie, therfore a mã may say for al that, that bewtie is the cause of delite. The Count answered: there be many other things also, that beside beautie oftentimes inflame our minds, as maners, knowledge, speech, gestures, & a thousand moe, (which peraduenture after a sort may be called beautie tõ) & aboue all, the knowing a mans selfe to be beloued: so that without ỳ bewtie you reason of, a man may be most feruently in loue: but those loues that arise only of the beautie which we discerne superficially in bodies, without doubt will bring a far greater delite to him that hath a more skill therin, than to him that hath but a little. Therfore returning to our purpose, I beleeue Apelles conceiued a far greater ioy in beholding the beautie of Campaspes, than did Alexãder: for a man may easily beleeue, that the loue of them both proceeded of that bewtie, & perhaps also for this respect, Alexander determined to bestow her vpõ him, that (in his mind) could know her more perfectly than he did. Haue you not read of the fiue daughters of Croton, which among the rest of that people, Zeuxis the painter chose to make of all fiue, one figure that was most excellent in beautie, and were renowmed of many Poets, as they that were allowed for beautifull of him that ought to haue a most perfect iudgement

Fiue daughters of Croton.

Zeuxis.

in

in beautie: Here the Lord Cæsar declaring himself not satisfied, nor willing to consent by any meanes, that any man could taste of the delite that he felt in beholding the beautie of a certaine woman, but he himselfe began to speake, and then was there heard a great scraping of fête in the floore, with a cherme of loude speaking, and vpon that, euery man turning himselfe about, sawe at the chamber doore appeare a light of torches, and by and by after entered in the Lord Generall with a great and noble traine, who was thē returned frō accompanying the Pope a part of the way. And at his first entrie into the pallace, demaunding what the Dutchesse did, he was certified what kind of pastime they had in hand that night, and how the charge was cōmitted to count Lewis, to entreat of courting. Therefore hée hasted him as much as he could to come betime to heare somwhat. And as sone as he had saluted ỳ dutchesse, and setled the rest that were risen vp at his comming, he sat him downe in ỳ circle among them, and certaine of the chiefe of his traine; among which were the Marques Phebus of Ceua & Ghirardin brethren, M. Hector of Rome, Vincēt Calmeta, Horace, Floridus, & many other. And when all was whist, the Lord Generall said: my Lords, my comming should be to hurtfull, if I should hinder such good communication as I gesse was euen now among you. Therefore do you me not this iniurie, to depriue both your selues and me of this pleasure. Then answered Count Lewis, I beléeue (my Lord) silence ought rather to please all parties than speaking. For séeing it hath bene my lot this night before all other to take this trauell in hand, it hath now wearied me with speaking, and I wéene all the rest in hearing, because my talke hath not bene worthy of this company, nor sufficient enough for the waightinesse of the matter I haue bene charged withall, wherein since I haue little satisfied my selfe, I recken I haue much lesse satisfied others: therefore (my Lord) your lucke hath bene good to come at the latter end, and now shal it be well done to giue the enterprise of that is behind to an other that may succéed in my roome. For whosoeuer he bée, I knowe well he will much better acquit himselfe than I should do if I went forward with it, béeing thus wearie as I am. This wil I in no wise permit, answered ỳ L. Iulian, to be deceiued of the

L. Francisco Maria della Rouere.

promise ye haue made me. And I know well the Lord Generall will not be against the vnderstanding of that poynt. And what promise was that, quoth the Count? The Lady Iulian answered: To declare vnto vs in what sort the Courtier ought to vse those good conditions and qualities which you say are méete for him. The Lord Generall, although he were but a childe in yeares, yet was he wise and discréete, more than a man would think belonged vnto those tender yeares of his, & in euery gesture he declared with a greatnesse of minde, a certaine liuelinesse of wit, which did sufficiently prognosticate the excellent degrée of honor and vertue, wherevnto afterward he ascended. Wherefore he said incontinently: If all this bée behinde yet to bée spoken of (mée thinke) I am come in good season. For vnderstanding in what sort the Courtier must vse his good conditions and qualities, I shall knowe also what they are, and thus shall I come to the knowledge of all that hath bene spoken hitherto. Therefore sticke not (Counte) to pay this debt, being alreadie discharged of one part thereof. I should not haue so great a debt to discharge (answered the Counte) if the paines were equally diuided, but the fault hath bene, in giuing a Lady authoritie to commaund, that is to partiall: and so smyling, beheld the Lady Emilia, which said immediately: You ought not to complaine of my partialitie, yet since ye do it against reason, we will giue one part of this honour, which you call paines, vnto an other: and turning her vnto sir Friderick Fregoso, you (quoth she) propounded this deuise of the Courtier, therefore reason willeth ye should say somewhat in it: and that shall bée to fulfill the Lady Iultans request, in declaring in what sort, manner, and time, the Courtier ought to practise his good conditions and qualities, and these other things which the Counte hath saide are méete for him. Then Syr Fridericke Madame (quoth hée) where ye will seuer the sort, the time, and the manner of good conditions and qualities, and the well practising of the Courtier, yée will seuer that, that cannot be sundred: for it is these things that make the conditions and qualities good, and the practising good. Therefore since the Counte hath spoken so much and so well, and also said somewhat of these circumstances, and prepared

for

for the reſt in his minde that he had to ſay, it were but reaſon he ſhould goe forward vntill he came to the ende. The Lady Emilia anſwered. Put the caſe you were the Count your ſelfe, and ſpake that your minde giueth you he would do, and ſo ſhall all be well. Then ſaid Calmeta: My Lords, ſince it is late, leaſt ſir Fridericke ſhould finde a ſcuſe to vtter that he knoweth, I beleeue it were well done to deferre the reſt of the communication vntill to morrowe, and beſtowe the ſmall time that remaineth, about ſome other paſtime without ambition. The which being agreed vpon of all hands, the Dutcheſſe willed the Lady Margaret, and the Lady Conſtance Fregoſa, to ſhewe them a daunce. Wherefore Berletta immediately, a very pleaſant Muſition, and an excellent dauncer, who continually kept all the Court in myrth and ioy, began to play vpon his Inſtruments, and they hand in hand ſhewed them a daunce or two, with a very good grace, and great pleaſure to the lokers on: that done, becauſe it was farre in night, the Dutcheſſe aroſe vpon her feete, and ſo euery man taking his leaue reuerently of her, departed to his reſt.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE Courtier of Count *Baldesser Castillio*, vnto Maister *Alphonsus Ariosto*.

NOt without maruell many a time and often haue I considered with my selfe, how one errour should arise, the which because it is generally seene in olde men, a man may beleeue it is proper and naturall vnto them: and that is, how (in a maner) all of them commend the times past, and blame the times present, dispraising our doings & manners, & whatsoeuer they did not in their youth: affirming moreouer euery good customs and good trade of liuing, euery vertue, finally each thing to decline alwayes from ill to worse. And in good sooth it seemeth a matter very wide frō reason, & worthy to be noted, that ripe age, which with long practise is wont to make mens iudgements more perfect in other things, should in this behalfe so corrupt them, that they should not discerne, if the world waxed worse and worse, and the fathers were generally better than the children, we should long ere this time haue bene come to that vtmost degree of ill that cannot waxe worse. And yet do we see not onely in our dayes, but also in times past, that this hath alwayes bene the peculiar vice of that age. The which is to be manifestly gathered by writings of many most auntient Authors, and especially Comedie writers, which expresse better than the rest, the trade of mans life. The cause therefore of this opinion in olde men, I beleeue (in mine opinion) is, for that, yeares wearing away, carrie also with them many commodities, and among other take away from the bloud a great part of the liuely spirits that altereth the complexion, and the instruments were feeble, whereby the soule worketh her effects. Therefore the sweete flowers of delight vade away in that season out of our hearts, as the leaues fall from the trees after harueste, and in stead of open and cleare thoughts, there entereth clowdie and

An errour in age.

The cause of errour.

and troublous heauinesse, accompanied with a thousand heart-griefes: so that not onely the blood, but the minde is also feble: neither of the former pleasures receiueth it any thing else but a fast memorie, and the print of the beloued time of tender age, which when we haue vpon vs, the heauen, the earth, and each thing to our seeming, reioyceth and laugheth allwayes about our eyes, and in thought (as in a sauourie and pleasant garden) flourisheth the sweete spring time of myrth; so that peraduenture it were not vnprofitable, when now in the colde season, the Sunne of our life (taking away from vs our delight) beginneth to drawe toward the West, to lose in like case therewithall the mindfulnesse of them, and to find out (as Themistocles saith) an Art to teach vs to forget: for the sences of our bodies are so deceiueable, that they beguile many times also the iudgement of the minde. Therefore (me thinke) olde men be like vnto them, that sayling in a vessell out of an hauen, beholde the ground with their eyes, and the vessell to their seeming standeth still, and the shore goeth: and yet is it cleane contrarie, for the hauen, and likewise the time and pleasures continue still in their estate, and we with the vessell of mortalitie fleeing away, go one after an other through the tempestuous sea, that swalloweth vp, and deuoureth al things, neither is it granted vs at any time to come on shore againe, but allwayes beaten with contrary winds, at the ende we breake our vessell at some rocke. Because therefore the minde of olde age is without order subiect to many pleasures, it cannot taste them: and euen as to them that bee sicke of a Feuer, when by corrupt vapours they haue lost their taste, all Wines appeare most bitter, though they bee precious and delicate indeede: so vnto olde men for their vnaptnesse, (wherein notwithstanding desire faileth them not) pleasures seeme without taste and colde, much differing from those they remember they haue proued in foretime, although ỹ pleasures in themselues be the self-same. Therefore when they feele themselues voyd of thẽ, it is a griefe, & they blame the time present for ill, not perceiuing ỹ this chaunge procedeth of themselues, and not of the time. And contrariwise, when they call to minde the pleasures past, they remember therwithal the time they had them in, & therfore cõmend it for good,

Time of youth

Senses of the body.

The minde of olde age.

because to their weening it carrieth with it a sauour of it, which they felt in them when it was present, by reason that in effect our mindes conceiue an hatred against all things that haue accompanied our sorrowes, and loue such as haue accompanied our pleasures. Vpon this it commeth, that vnto a louer it is most acceptable, sometime to behold a window, though it be shut, because other whiles it may be his chaunce to see his mistresse there: in like maner to see a ring, a letter, a garden, or any other place, or what euer other thing hee supposeth hath bene a witting testimoniall of his pleasures. And contrariwise, oftentimes a faire trimmed and well decked chamber is abhorred of him that hath bene kept prisoner in it, or abide therein any other sorrow. And in my dayes I haue knowne some that will neuer drinke of a cup like vnto that wherein in their sickneſſe they had taken a medicine. For euen as that window, ring, or letter, doth bring to the mind a sweet remembrance vnto the one, that so much pleaseth him, for that he imagineth it was a parcell of his pleasures, so vnto the other the chamber or cup, seemeth to bring with the memorie, his sickneſſe or imprisoning againe. The very same cause (I beleeue) moueth olde men to praise the times past, and discommend the present. Therefore as they talke of other things, so do they also of Courts, affirming such as haue bene in their memorie to be much more excellent, and farre better furnished with notable men, than we see them to be that are now a dayes. And immediately when they enter into this kinde of talke, they beginne to extoll with infinite praises the Courts of Duke Philip, or of Duke Borso, and declare the sayings of Nicholas Piccininus, and rehearse that in those times a man should very seldome haue heard of a murther committed, and no combates, no crafts nor deceits, but a certaine faithfull and louing good meaning among all men, and an vpright dealing. And in Courts at that time there raigned such good conditions, and such honeſtie, that the Courtiers were (in a maner) religious folke: and woe vnto him that should haue spoken an ill word of an other, or made but a signe otherwise than honeſtie to a woman. And on the other side, they say in these daies euery thing is clean contrary, and not only that brotherly loue and manerly conuersation loſt among Courtiers,

Things beloued that accompany pleasures.

Old mens opinion of Courtiers.

Courtiers, but also in Courts there raigneth nothing else, but enuie and malice, ill manners, and a most wanton life in euery kind of vice: the women enticefull, past shame, and the men womanish. They dispraise also the apparell to be dishonest, and too soft. To be short, they speake against infinite things, among the which many in very deed deserue to bee discommended, for it cannot bee excused, but there are many ill and naughtie men among vs, and this our age is much more full of vices, than was that which they do commend. But (mée thinke) they do full ill scanne the cause of this difference, and they bée fond persons, because they would haue all goodnesse in the worlde without any ill, which is vnpossible. For since ill is contrary to good, and good to ill, it is (in a manner) necessary by contrarietie, and a certaine counterprise, the one should vnderpropp and strengthen the other, and where the one wanteth or encreaseth, the other to want or encrease also, because no contrary is without his other contrary. Who knoweth not that there would be no Iustice in the world, were it not for wronges? no stoutnesse of courage, were there not faintharted: nor cõtinencie, were there not incontinencie: nor health, were there not sicknesse? nor truth, were there not lyes? nor happinesse, were there not mischaunces? Therefore Socrates saith well in Plato, that he marueleth that Esope made not an Apologus or fable, wherein he might haue faigned that God, since hée could neuer couple pleasure and sorrow together, might haue knitte them with an extremitie, so that the beginning of the one should haue bene the end of the other. For wée see no pleasure can delight vs at any time, if sorrowe goeth not before. Who can loue rest well, vnlesse hée haue first felt the griefe of wearinesse? Who sauoureth meate, drinke, and sléepe, if hee haue not first felt hunger, thyrst, and watching? I beléeue therefore passions and diseases are giuen to men of nature, not principally to make them subiect to them, for it were not méete that thée, which is the mother of all goodnesse, should by her owne purposed aduise, giue vs so many euils, but since nature doth make health, pleasure, & other goodnes, consequently after these, were ioyned diseases, sorrowes, and other euilles.

Enuie.
Womé wantõ.
Mé womanish.
Apparell.
Contraries.
Socrates.
Esopus.
One contrary followeth an other.

euilles. Therefore sines vertues were graunted to the world for a fauour and gift of nature, by and by were vices by that linked contrarietie necessarily accompanied with them: so that the one encreasing or wanting, the other must in like manner encrease or want. Therefore when our olde men praise the Courtes of times past, because there were not in them so vitious men, as some that are in ours, they do not knowe that there were not in them also so vertuous men, as some that are in ours, the which is no wonder, for no ill is so euill, as that which ariseth of the corrupt seede of goodnesse. And therefore where nature now bringeth forth much better wits than shée did then, euen as they that be giuen to goodnesse, do much better than did those of our time, so also they that bée giuen to ill, do much worse. Therefore it is not to bée said, that such as abstained from doing ill, because they knew not how to do it, deserue in that case any praise: for although they did but a little ill, yet did they the worst they knewe. And that the wittes of those times were generally much inferiour to these now a dayes, a man may iudge by all that hath proceeded from them, letters, paintings, statues, buildings, and all other things. Againe these olde men discommend many things in vs, which of themselues are neither good nor bad, onely because they did them not: and say it is no good sight to see young men on horsebacke about the stréetes, and especially vpon Mules, nor to weare furres nor side garments in winter, nor to weare a cappe before a man be at the least eightéene yeares of age, and such other matters, wherin truly they be much deceiued. For these fashions (beside that they be commodious and profitable) are brought vp by custome, and generally men delight in them, as at that time they were contented to goe in their iackets, in their brécheslesse hose, and in their lowe shoes with latchets, and (to appeare fine) carrie all day long a Hawke vpon their fist, without purpose, and daunce without touching a womans hand, and vsed many other fashions, the which as they are now stale, so were they at that time very much set by. Therefore may it bée lawfull for vs also to follow the custome of our times, without controllment of these olde men,

Better wits now, than in olde time.

Things neither good nor bad.

Fashions set by in the olde time

which

which going about to praise themselues, say: When I was twenty yeare olde, I lay with my mother and sisters, nor a great while after wist I what women ment, and now children are not so soone crept out of the shell, but they knowe more naughtinesse, than they that were come to mans state did in those dayes: neyther be they aware in so saying, that they confirme our children to haue more wit than their olde men. Let them leaue therefore speaking against our times, as full of vices: for in taking away them, they also take away the vertues. And let them remember that among the good men of auntient time, when as the glorious wits flourished in the world, which in very deede were of most perfection in euery vertue, and more than manly, there were also many most mischieuous, which if they had still liued, should haue excelled our ill men so much in ill, as those good men in goodnesse: and of this do all Hystories make full mention. But vnto these olde men I weene I haue made a sufficient answere. Therefore we will leaue apart this discourse, perhappes too tedious, but not altogether out of purpose: and being sufficient to haue declared, that the Courts of our time are worthy no lesse praise, than those that olde men commend so much, we will attend to our communication that was had about the Courtier, wherby a man may easily gather in what degree the Court of Vrbin was, among the rest, and what maner of Prince and Lady they were that had such noble wittes attending vpon them, and how fortunate all they might call themselues that liued in that familiar fellowship. When the day following therefore was come, there was great and sundry talke betweene the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Court, vpon the disputation of the night before, which arose a great part of it, vpon the L. Generalls gredie desire, to vnderstand as much as had bene said in the matter, who had enquired it almost of euery man: and (as it is alwayes wont to come to passe) it was reported vnto him sundrie wayes, for some praised one thing, some an other, and also among many, there was a contention of the Countes owne meaning, for euery man did not so fully beare in minde the matters that had beene spoken. Therefore almost the whole day was spent about talking in this, e as soone as night drew

The saying of olde men.

Noble wits in the Court of Vrbin.

drew on, the Lord Generall commaunded meate to be set on the bord, and toke all the Gentlemen with him, and immediatly after supper he repaired to the Dutchesse side: who beholding so great a company assembled sooner then they had done at other times, said: We thinke it is a great waight, sir Fridericke, that is laid vpon your shoulders, and a great expectation that you must satisfie. Here not tarrying for Syr Fridericke answere, and what great waight (I beseech ye) is it, said then Vnico Aretino? who is so folish that when he can do a thing, will not do it in a fit and due time? Reasoning in this wise about the matter, euery man sat him downe in his wonted place and manner with very heedfull expectation of the propounded talke. Then sir Fridericke turning him to Vnico, do you not thinke then M. Vnico (quoth he) that I am laden this night with a great and painfull burden, since I must declare in what sort, manner, and time the Courtier hath to practise his good conditions and qualities, and to vse those other things that are alreadie said to be meet for him? We thinke it is no great matter, answered Vnico: and I beleeue a good iudgement in the Courtier is sufficient for all this, which the Count said well yesterday night that he ought to haue: and in case it be so, without any other precepts, I suppose he may practise wel enough the thing that he knoweth, in due time, and after a good sort, the which to bring more particularly into rule, were too hard a matter, and perhappes more than needeth; for I know not who is so fond to goe about his fence, when the rest be in their masicke: or to goe about the streetes daunsing the Morisco, though he could do it neuer so well: or going about to comfort a mother that hadde buried her childe, to beginne to talke with her of pleasant matters and merrie conceits. I beleeue surely no gentleman will do this, vnlesse hee were cleane out of his wits. We think (M. Vnico) quoth Syr Fridericke then, ye harpe too much vpon your extremities, for it happeneth otherwhile, a man is so fond, that he remembreth not himselfe so easily, and ouersights are not all alike. And it may be, that a man shall abstaine from a common folly, which is so manifest, as that is you speak of, to go daunce the Morisco in the market place, and yet shall he not refraine from praising himselfe out of purpose,

To obserue time.

from

from vsing a noysome sawsinesse, from casting out otherwhile a word thinking to make men laugh, which for that it is spoken out of time will appeare colde and without grace: and these ouersights oftentimes are couered with a certaine veile that suffereth a man not to forget who doeth them, vnlesse hée take no héede to them: and although for many causes our sight discerneth but litle, yet for ambitions sake it is darkened in especiall, for euery man willingly setteth forth himselfe, in that hée perswadeth himselfe hée knoweth whether this perswasion of his bee true or false. Therefore the well behauing of a mans selfe in this case (mée thinke) consisteth in certaine wisedome and iudgement of choyce, and to know more and lesse what encreaseth or diminisheth in things, to practise them in due time or out of season. And for all the Courtier bée of so good a iudgement that hée can discerne these differences, yet shall he the sooner compasse that he séeketh, if his imagination bée opened with some rule, and the way shewed him, and (as it were) the places where hée should ground himselfe vpon, than if he should take himselfe onely to the generalitie. For somuch as therefore the Counte yesterday night entreated vppon Courtiershippe so copiously and in so good manner, he hath made mee (truely) conceiue no small feare and doubt that I shall not so throughly satisfie this noble audience in the matter that lyeth vpon mée to discourse in, as hée hath done in that was his charge. Yet to make my selfe partener in what I may of his prayse, and to be sure not to erre (at the least in this part) I will not contrarie him in any point. Wherefore agréeing to his opinions, and beside the rest, as touching nobleneesse of birth, wit and disposition of person, and grace of countenance, I say vnto you, that to get him prayse worthily and a good estimation with all men, and fauour with such great men as he shall attend vpon, me thinke is behouefull he haue the vnderstanding to frame all his life and to set forth his good qualities generally in company withall men without purchasing himselfe enuie. The which how hard a matter it is of it selfe, a man may consider by the slidomenesse of such as are seene to attaine to that point: because wee are all the sort of vs in very déede more enclyned of nature to dispraysle faultes, than to commend

To set foorth good qualities.

mend things well done. And a man would thinke that many by a certaine roted malice, although they manifestly discerne the goodnesse, enforce themselues with all studie and diligence to finde in vs eyther a fault, or at the least the likenesse of a fault. Many bent to finde faults. Therefore it behoueth our Courtier in all his doings to be charie and heedfull, and whatsoeuer he saith or doth, to accompany it with wisedome, and not onely to set his delight to haue in himselfe parts and excellēt qualities, but also to order the tenor of his life after such a trade, that the whole may be answerable vnto these parts, and see the selfe-same to bee alwayes and in euery thing such, that it disagree not from it selfe, but make one body of all these good qualities, so that euery deed of his may be compact and framed of all the vertues, as the Stoickes say the dutie of a wise man is, although notwithstanding, alwayes one vertue is the principall, but all are so knit and linked one to an other, that they tend to one end, and all may be applyed and serue to euery purpose. Stoicks. Therefore it behoueth he haue the vnderstanding to set them forth, and by comparison and (as it were) contrarietie of the one, sometime to make the other the better knowne: as the good painters with a shadowe make the lightes of high places to appeare, and so with light make lowe the shadowes of plaines, and meddle diuers colours together, so that through that diuersitie both the one and the other are more sightly to beholde, and the placing of the figures contrarie the one vnto the other, is a helpe to them to do the feate that the Painters minde is to bring to passe. To set out one qualitie with an other. So that lowlinesse is much to be commended in a gentleman that is of prowesse and well seene in armes: and as that fiercenesse seemeth the greater when it is accompanied with sober mode, euen so doeth sobermode encrease and shewe it selfe the more through fiercenesse. Lowlinesse. Therefore little speaking, much doing, and not prayling a mans owne selfe in commendable deedes, dissembling them after an honest sort, doeth encrease both the one vertue and the other in a person that can discreetly vse this trade: and the like is to be saide in all the other good qualities. Therefore will I haue our Courtier in that hee doeth or sayeth, to vse certaine generall rules, the which (in my minde) containe briefely as much as belongeth General rules.

to

to mee to speake. And for the first and chiefe let him auoyd (as the Counte said well in that behalfe yesternight) aboue all things curiositie. Afterward let him consider well what the thing is hee doeth or speaketh, the place where it is done, in presence of whom, in what time, the cause why he doeth it, his age, his profession, the ende whereto it tendeth, and the meanes that may bring him to it, and so let him apply himselfe discretely with these aduertisements to whatsoeuer hee mindeth to do or speake. After Sir Fridericke had thus said, hee seemed to stay a while. Then said M. Morello of Ortona: We thinke these your rules teach but little, and I for my part am as skilfull now as I was before you spake them, although I remember I haue heard them at other times also of Friars, with whom I haue bene in confession, and I weene they terme them circumstances. Then laughed Sir Fridericke, and said: if you do well beare in minde, the Count willed yesternight that the chiefe profession of the Courtier should bee in armes, and spake very largely in what sort hee should do it, therefore will we make no more rehearsall therof, yet by our rule it may be vnderstood, that where the Courtier is at a skirmish, or assault, or battell vpon the land, or in such other places of enterprise, hee ought to worke the matter wisely in seperating himselfe from the multitude, and vndertake his notable and bolde feates which he hath to do, with as litle company as he can, and in ỹ sight of noble men that be of most estimation in the camp, and especially in the presence and (if it were possible) before the very eyes of his king or great personage he is in seruice withal: for indeed it is meet to set forth to ỹ shewe things well done. And I beleeue euen as it is an ill matter to seeke a false renowme, & in the thing hee deserueth no praise at all, so is it also an ill matter to defraude a mans selfe of his due estimation, and not to seeke that praise which alone is the true reward of vertuous enterprises. And I remember I haue knowne of them in my time, that for all they were of prowesse, yet in this poynt they haue shewed themselues but grosse headed, and put their life in as great hazard to goe take a flocke of shepe, as in being the foremost to scale the walles of a battred towne, the which our Courtier will not do if he beare in minde the cause that bringeth

An old curiositie.

Circumstances.

An example of the circumstances.

Praise to be sought for.

Grosseheaded persons.

geth him to warre, which ought to be onely his estimation. And if hée happen moreouer to be one to shew feates of chevalrie in open lights, at tilt, turney, or Ioco di canne, or in any other exercise of the person, remembring that place where he is, and in presence of whom, he shall prouide before hand to bée in his Armour no lesse handsome and sightly than sure, and féede the eies of the lokers on with all things that hée shall thinke may giue a good grace, and shall doe his best to get him a Horse set out with faire harneisse and sightly trappings, and to haue proper deuises, apt poesies, and wittie inuentions that may draw vnto him the eyes of the lokers on, as the Adamant stone doth yron. Hée shall neuer bée among the last that come forth into the Lists to shew themselues, considering the people, and especially women take much more héede to the first then to the last: because the eyes and mindes that at the beginning are gréedy of that noueltie, note euery little matter and print it, afterward by continuance they are not onely full, but wearie of it. Therefore was there a noble Stage-player in old time, that for this respect would alwayes bée the first to come forth to play his part. In like manner also if our Courtier doe but talke of Armes, hée shall haue an eye to the profession of them hée talketh withall, and according to that frame himselfe, and vse one maner of talke with men, and an other with women: and in case he will touch any thing sounding to his owne prayse, he shall do it so dissemblingly as it were a chance and by the way, and withe discretion and warinesse that Count Lewes shewed vs yesterday. Do you not now think (M. Morello) that our rules can teach somewhat? Know you not that friend of ours I told you of a few dayes ago had cleane forgotten with whom he spake, & whyle When to entertaine a gentlewoman whom he neuer saw before, at his first entring in talke with her, hée began to tell how many men hée had slaine, and what a hardie fellow hée was, and how hée could play at two hand sword, and had neuer done vntill hée had taught her how to defend certaine strokes with a Pollaxe being armed, and how vnarmed, & to shew how (in a mans defence) to lay hand vpon a dagger, so that the poore gentlewoman stood vpon thornes, and thought an houre a thousand yéere till hée were got

The cause to venture life is estimation.

Open shewes.

Ready in his armour.

A horse well trimmed.

Witty inuentions.

Not of the last to come forth.

Q. Roscius comœdus.

A respect to the talke of Armes.

from

from him, for feare hée would goe nigh to kill her as hée had done those other. Into these errours runne they that haue not an eye to the circumstances which you say ye haue heard of Friers. Therfor I say of the exercises of the body, some there are that (in maner are neuer practised but in open shew, as running at Tilt, Barriers, Ioco di canne, and all the rest that depend vpon Armes. Therefore when our Courtier taketh any of these in hand, first he must prouide to be too well in order for Horse, Harneis, and other furnitures belonging thereto, that he want nothing. And if he sée not himselfe throughly furnished in all points, let him not meddle at all. For if hée do not well it cannot bée excused that it is not his profession. After this he ought to haue a great consideration in presence of whom hée sheweth himselfe, and who bée his matches. For it were not méete that a Gentleman should bée present in person and a doer in such a matter in the Countrey, where the lookers on and the doers were of a base sort. Then said the L. Gasper Pallauicin: In our Countrey of Lumbardy, these matters are not passed vppon, for you shall sée there yong Gentlemen vpon the holy daies come daunce all the day long in the Sunne with them of the Countrey, and passe the time with them in casting the Barre, in Wrastling, Running and Leaping. And I beleeue it is not ill done. For no comparison is there made of noblenesse of birth, but of force and slight, in which things many times the men of the Countrey are not a whit inferiour to Gentlemen, and it séemeth this familiar conuersation containeth in it a certaine loucly fréenesse. This dauncing in the Sunne, answered Sir Fridericke, can I in no case away withall, and I cannot sée what a man shall gaine by it. But whoso will wrastle, runne, leape with men of the Countrey ought (in my iugdement) to do it after a sort: to proue himselfe and (as they are woont to say) for courtesie, not to try mastry with them: and a man ought (in a maner) to be assured to get the vpper hand, else let him not meddle withal, for it is too il a sight, too foule a matter, and without estimation, to sée a Gentleman ouercome by a Carter, and especially in wrastling. Therefore I beléeue it is well done to abstaine from it, at the least wise in the presence of many, because if hée ouercome his gaine is small, and

Well prouided for open shewes.

How to practise feates with men of the Countrey.

Play at tenise.

his losse in being ouercome very great. Also they play at Tenise (in maner) alwayes in open sight, and this is one of the common games, which the multitude with their presence do much sette forth. I will haue our Courtier therefore to do this and all the rest beside, handling his weapon, as a matter that is not his profession: and not seeme to seeke or loke for any praise for it, nor be acknowne that hee bestoweth much studie or time about it, although he do it excellently wel. Neither shal he be like vnto some that haue a delight in musicke, and in speaking with whom soeuer alwayes when he maketh a pawse in their talke, begin in a voyce as though he would sing. Others walking in the stretes, or in the Churches, goe alwayes daunsing. Others meeting in the market place, or whersoeuer any friend, make a gesture as though they would play at fence, or wrastle, according as their delight is. Peere said ỳ L. Cæsar Gōzaga, we haue in Rome a yong Cardinall that doth better than so, which seeling himselfe lustie of person, leadeth as many as come to visit him (though hee neuer sawe them before) into a garden, and is very instant vpon them to strip themselues into their doublet to leape with him. Sir Friderick laughed, and afterward he proceeded on. There be some other exercises that may be done both openly and priuately, as dauncing: and in this I beleeue the Courtier ought to haue a respect: for if he daunceth in the presence of many, and in a place full of people, he must (in my minde) keepe a certaine dignitie, tempred notwithstanding with a handsome and sightly sweetenesse of gestures) and for all hee seeketh himselfe very nimble, and to haue time and measure at will, yet let him not fall into that swiftnesse of feete and doubled footings, that we see are very comely in our Berletta, & peraduenture were vnseemely for a Gentleman, although priuately in a chamber together as we be now, I will not say but he may do both that, and also daunce the Moriseo, & braulles, yet not openly, vnlesse he were in a maske. And though it were so that all men knew him, it skilleth not, for there is no way to that, if a man will shewe himselfe in open sight about such matters, whether it be in armes, or out of armes, because to be in a maske, bringeth with it a certaine libertie and license, that a man may among other things take vpon him

Daunsing.

Daunsing priuately.

To be in maske.

him the forme of that he hath better skill in, and vse dent studie and preciſeneſſe about the principall drift of the matter wherein he will ſhewe himſelfe, and a certaine reckleſneſſe about that is not of importance, which augmenteth the grace of the thing, as it were to diſguiſe a young man in an olde mans attire, but ſo that his garments be not a hinderance vnto him to ſhewe his nimbleneſſe of perſon. And a man at armes in forme of a wilde ſhepheard, or ſome other ſuch kinde of diſguiſing, but with an excellent horſe, and well trimmed for the purpoſe, becauſe the minde of the lokers on runneth forthwith to imagine the thing that is offered vnto the eyes at the firſt ſhewe, and when they beholde afterward a farre greater matter to come of it, than they loked for vnder that attire, it delighteth them, and they take pleaſure at it. Therefore it were not méete in ſuch paſtimes and open ſhewes, where they take vp counterfeiting of falſe viſages, a prince ſhould take vpon him to be like a prince indéed, becauſe in ſo doing, the pleaſure that the lokers on receiue at the noueltie of the matter ſhould want a great deale, for it is no noueltie at all to a my man, for a Prince to be a Prince. And when it is perceiued that beſide his being a prince, he will alſo beare the ſhape of a prince, hée loſeth the libertie to do all thoſe things that are out of dignitie of a Prince. And in caſe there any contention happen, eſpecially with weapon in theſe paſtimes, he might eaſily make men beléeue that he kéepeth the perſon of a prince becauſe he will not be beaten, but ſpared of the reſt: beſide that, doing in ſporte the very ſame hée ſhould do in good earneſt when néede required, it would take away his authoritie indéede, and would appeare in like caſe to bée play alſo. But in this poynt the Prince ſtripping himſelfe of the perſon of a Prince, and mingling himſelfe equally with his vnderlings (yet in ſuch wiſe that hée may be knowne) with refuſing ſuperioritie, let him chaleng a greater ſuperioritie, namely, to paſſe other men, not in authoritie, but in vertue, and declare that his prowеſſe is not encreaſed by his being a Prince.

The maner of diſguiſing.

The Prince in maske not to take the ſhape of a Prince.

Therefore I ſay, that the Courtier ought in theſe open fights of armes to haue the ſelfe ſame reſpect according to his degrée. But in dawting, wraſtling, running, and leaping, I am well pleaſed hée

In some exercise flee the multitude.

flée the multitude of people, or at the least be séene very seldom times. For there is nothing so excellent in the world, that the ignorant people haue their fill of, and smally regard it in often beholding it. The like iudgement I haue to musicke: but I would not our Courtier should do as many do, that as soone as they come to any place, and also in the presence of great men, with whō they haue no acquaintance at al, without much entreating set out themselues to shewe as much as they knowe; yea and many times that they know not, so that a man would wéene they came purposely to shewe themselues for that, and that it is their principall profession. Therefore let our Courtier come to shewe his musicke as a thing to passe the time withall, and as he were enforced to do it, and not in the presence of noble men, nor of any great multitude. And for al he be skilfull, and doth well vnderstand it, yet will I haue him to dissemble the studie and paines that a man must néedes take in all things that are well done. And let him make semblance that hee estéemeth but litle in himselfe that qualitie, but in doing it excellently wel, maketh it much estéemed of other men. Then said ỳ L. Gasper Pallauicin: There are many sorts of musick as wel in the breast as vpon instruments, therefore would I gladly learne which is the best, and at what time the Courtier ought to practise it. The thinke then answered sir Fridericke, prickesong is a faire musicke, so it be done vpon the booke surely and after a good sort. But to sing to the Lute is much better, because all the swéetenesse consisteth in one alone, and a man is much more heedfull, and vnderstandeth better ỳ feate, maner, & the ayre or vaine of it, when the eares are not busied in hearing any moe than one voyce: and beside euery little errour is soone perceiued, which happeneth not in singing with company, for one beareth out an other.

People haue seene their fill

Some set out themselues vnaduisedly.

How to shewe musicke.

Prickesong.

To sing to the Lute.

Singing with dittie.

But singing to the Lute with the dyttie, (mée thinke) is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder. Also all Instruments with freates are full of harmonie, because the tunes of them are very perfect, and with ease a man may do many thinges vpon them that fill the minde with swéetenesse of musicke. And the musicke of a sette of Viols, doeth no lesse delight a man: for it

Instruments with freates.

A set of viols.

it is very sweete and artificiall. A mans breast giueth a great ornament and grace to all these instruments, in the which I will haue it sufficient that our Courtier haue an vnderstanding. Yet the more cunninger he is vpon them, the better it is for him, without medling much with the instruments that Minerua and Alcibiades refused, because it seemeth they are noysome. Now as touching the time and season when these sorts of musicke are to be practised, I beleeue at all times when a man is in familiar and louing company, hauing nothing else to do. But especially they are meet to be practised in the presence of women, because those sights sweeten the mindes of the hearers, and make them the more apt to be pierced with the pleasantnesse of musicke, and also they quicken the spirits of the very doers. I am well pleased (as I haue said) they flee the multitude, and especially of the vnnoble. But the seasoning of the whole must be discretion, because in effect it were a matter vnpossible to imagine all cases that fall. And if the Courtier be a righteous iudge of himselfe, he shall apply himselfe well inough to the time, and shall discerne when the hearers mindes are disposed to giue care, and when they are not. He shall knowe his age, for (to say the truth) it were no meete matter, but an ill sight, to see a man of any estimation, being olde, hoareheaded, and toothlesse, full of wrinckles, with a Lute in his armes, playing vpon it, and singing in the middes of a company of women, although he could do it reasonably well. And that because such songs containe in them words of loue, and in olde men loue is a thing to be iested at, although otherwhile hee seemeth among other miracles of his, to take delite in spite of years, to set a fier frozen hearts. Then answered the L. Iulian: Do you not barre poore olde men from this pleasure (sir Fridericke) for in my time I haue knowne men of yeares haue very perfect breastes, and most nimble fingers for instruments, much more than some young men. I goe not about (quoth sir Fridericke) to barre olde men from this pleasure, but I will barre you these Ladies from laughing at that folly. And in case olde men will sing to the Lute, let them do it secretly, and onely to rid their mindes of those troublesome cares and grieuous disquietings that our life is full of: and to taste of that excellencie

A mans breast.

Shalmes.
Dulcimers.
Harpe.

Time to practise musicke.

Discretion.

Olde men.

How old men should practise musicke.

cellencie which I beleeue Pythagoras & Socrates fauoured in muſicke. And put caſe they exercile it not at all, for that they haue gotte a certaine habit and cuſtome of it, they ſhall fauour it much better in hearing, than he that hath no knowledge in it: For like as the armes of a Smith that is weake in other things, becauſe they are more exerciſed, be ſtronger than an other bodies that is ſturdie, but not exerciſed to worke with his armes: euen ſo the eares that be exerciſed in muſicke, do much better and ſooner diſcerne it, & with much more pleaſure iudge of it, than other, how good and quicke ſoeuer they be that haue not bene practiſed in the varietie of pleaſant muſicke, becauſe thoſe muſicall tunes pierce not, but without leauing any taſte of themſelues, paſſe by the eares not accuſtomed to heare them, although the very wilde beaſts take ſome delight in melodie. This is therefore the pleaſure meete for olde men to take in muſicke. The ſelfe ſame I ſay of dauncing, for indeed theſe exercices ought to be let off before age conſtraineth vs to leaue them whether we will or no. It is better then, anſwered here M. Morello, halfe chafed, to except all olde men, and to ſay that onely yong men are to be called Courtiers. Then laughed ſir Fridericke and ſaid: Note (M. Morello) whether ſuch as delight in theſe matters, if they be not yong men, do not ſtudie to appeare yong, and therefore dye their haire, and make their beard grow twice a weeke, and this proceedeth vpon that nature ſayeth to them in ſecret, that theſe matters are not comely but in young men. All the Ladyes laughed, becauſe they knew theſe words touched M. Morello, and he ſeemed ſomewhat out of patience at y matter. Yet are there other entertainments with women, ſaid immediately ſir Frideric, meete for olde men. And what be theſe (quoth M. Morello) to tell fables? And that too, anſwered ſir Fridericke. But euery age (as you know) carrieth with him his thoughts, and hath ſome peculiar vertue, and ſome peculiar vice. And old men for all they are ordinarily wiſer than yong men, more continent, and of a better foreſight, yet are they withall, more lauiſh in words, more greedie, harder to pleaſe, more fearefull, alwayes chafing in the houſe, ſharpe to their children, and will haue euery man wedded to their will. And contrariwiſe, yong men are hardie, eaſie to be entreated, but more apt to brain-

Old men that will ſeem yong againſt nature

The nature of olde men.

The nature of young men.

brawling and chyding, wauering and vnstedfast, that lone and vnlone all at a time, giuen to al their delights, and enemies to them that tell them of their profit. But of all the other ages, mans state is most temperate, which hath now done with the curst prankes of youth, and not yet growne to auntientie. These then y be placed (as it were) in the extremities, it is behouefull for them to knowe how to correct the vices with reason, that nature hath bred in them. Therefore ought olde men to take heed of much praising themselues, and of the other vices that we haue said are proper to them, and suffer the wisedome and knowledge to beare stroke in them that they haue gotten by long experience, and be (as it were) Oracles, to the which euery man should haunt for counsell, and haue a grace in vttering that they knowe, applying it aptly to the purpose, accompanying with grace of yeares a certaine temperate and merrie pleasantnesse. In this wise shall they bee good Courtiers, and bee well entertained with men and women, and euery man will at all times be glad of their company, without singing or dauncing, and when need requireth they shall shewe their prowesse in matters of waight. The very same respect and iudgement shall young men haue, not in keeping the fashion of olde men (for what is meete for the one, were not in all poynts so fit for the other, and it is a common saying, Too much grauitie in young men is an ill signe) but in correcting the naturall vices in them. Therfore delight I in a young men, and especially a man at armes, if he haue a certaine sagenesse in him, and fewe words, and somewhat demure, without those busie gestures & vnquiet maners which we see so many times in that age: for they seeme to haue a certain gift aboue other young men. Beside that, this milde behauiour containeth in it a kinde of lightly fiercenesse, because it appeareth to be stirred, not of wrath, but of iudgement, and rather gouerned by reason than appetite: and this in (manner) alwayes is knowne in all men of stomacke, and wee see it likewise in brute beastes, that haue a certaine noble courage and stoutnesse aboue the rest, as the Lyon and the Eagle; neither is it voyd of reason, for so much as that the violent and

Mans state most temperate.

The behauior of old men.

The behauior of young men.

sudden motion without words or other token of choller, which with all force burſteth out together at once (as it were the ſhotte of a gunne) from quietneſſe, which is contrary to it, is much more violent and furious, than that which encreaſeth by degrées, and waxeth hotte by little and little. Therefore ſuch as going about ſome enterprize, are ſo full of words, that they leape and ſkippe, and cannot ſtand ſtill, it appeareth they bee rauiſhed in thoſe matters, and (as our M. Peter Mount ſaith well) they doo like children, that going in the night, ſing for feare, as though that ſinging of theirs ſhould make them plucke vp their ſpirits to bee the bolder. Euen as therefore in a young man, a quiet and ripe youth is to be commended, becauſe it appeareth that lightneſſe (which is the peculiar vice of that age) is tempered and corrected: euen ſo in an olde man a grene and liuely olde age is much to be eſteemed, becauſe it appeareth that the force of the minde is ſo much, that it heateth and giueth a certaine ſtrength to that feeble and colde age, and maintaineth it in that middle ſtate, which is the better part of our life. But in concluſion all theſe good qualities ſhall not ſuffice our Courtier, to purchaſe him the generall fauour of great men, Gentlemen, and Ladies, if he haue not alſo a gentle and louing behauiour in his daily converſation. And of this I beleeue verily it is a hard matter to giue any manner rule, for the infinite and ſundrie matters that happen in practiſing one with an other: for ſo much as among all men in the world, there are not two to be found that in euery point agree in mind together. Therefore he that muſt be pliable to be conuerſant with ſo many, ought to guide himſelfe with his owne iudgement. And knowing the difference of one mã and an other, euery day alter fashion & maner, according to ỹ diſpoſition of them he is conuerſant withall. And for my part, I am not able in this behalfe to giue him other rules than the aforeſaid, which our M. Morello learned of a child in confeſſing himſelf. Hereat the L. Emilia laughed & ſaid, you would rid your hands of paines taking (ſir Fridericke) but you ſhal not eſcape ſo, for it is your part to miniſter talke vntil it be bed time. And what if I haue nothing to ſay (madã) how then? anſwered ſir Fridericke. The L. Emilia ſaid: we ſhall now trie your wit.

Lightneſſe.

Behauiour in daily conuerſations.

So many mẽ, ſo many mindes.

And

And if all be true, I haue heard there haue bene men so wittie & eloquent, that they haue not wanted matter to make a boke in the praise of a flye, other in the praise of a quartaine Feuer, an other in the praise of baldnesse: doth not your heart serue you to finde out somewhat to say for one night of Courting? We haue alreadie, answered sir Fridericke, spoken as much as will goe nigh to make two bokes. But since no excuse shall serue me, I will speake vntill you shall thinke I haue fulfilled, though not my dutie, yet my power, I suppose the conuersation which the Courtier ought chiefly to be pliable vnto, with all diligence to get him fauour, is ỹ very same that he shall haue with his prince. And although this name of Conuersation bringeth with it a certain equalitie, ỹ a man would not iudge can raigne betwéen the maister and the seruant, yet wil we so terme it for this once. I will haue our Courtier therefore (beside that he hath and doth dayly giue men to vnderstand, that he is of the prowes which we haue said ought to be in him) to turne all his thoughts and force of minde to loue, and (as it were) to reuerence the Prince he serueth aboue all other things, and in his will, manners, and fashions, to be altogether pliable to please him. Here without any longer stay, Peter of Naples said: of these Courtiers nowadayes ye shall finde ynow, for (me thinke) in fewe words yée haue painted vs out a iolly flatterer. You are farre deceiued answered sir Fridericke, for flatterers loue not their Lords, nor their friends, the which I say vnto you, I will haue principally in our Courtier, and to please him, and to obey his commaundements whom he serueth, may be done without flatterie: for I meane the commaundements that are reasonable and honest, or such as of themselues are neither good nor bad, as is gaming and passtime, and giuing himself more to some one exercise than to another. And to this will I haue the Courtier to frame himselfe, though by nature he were not enclined to it: so that whensoeuer his Lord loketh vpon him, hée may thinke in his minde that he hath to talke with him of a matter that he will be glad to heare. The which shall come to passe if there be a good iudgement in him to vnderstand what pleaseth his Prince, and a wit and wisedome to know how to apply it, and a bent will to make him pleased with the thing

Conuersation with his prince.

To please his prince.

Flatterers.

His behauior in his princes presence.

which perhappes by nature should displease him. And having these principles, he shall neuer be sad before his Prince, nor melancholy, nor so sullen as many, that a man would weene were at debate with their Lords, which is truly an hatefull matter. He shal not be ill tongued, and especially against his superiors, which happeneth oftentimes: for it appeareth that there is a storme in courts that carrieth this condition with it, that alwayes loke who so receiueth most benefits at the Lords hands, and is promoted from very base degree to high estate, he is euermore complaining, and reporteth worst of him, which is an vncomely thing, not onely for such as these be, but euen for such as be ill handled indeed. Our Courtier shall vse no fond sawcinesse. He shall be no carrier about of trifling newes. He shal not be ouerseene in speaking otherwhile words that may offend, where his intent was to please. He shall not be stubborne and full of contention, as some busie-bodies ý a man would weene had none other delight but to vexe and stirre men like flies, and take vpon them to contrarie euery man spitefully without respect. He shall bee no babler, not giuen to lightnesse, no lyar, no boaster, nor fond flatterer, but sober, and keeping him alwayes within his bounds, vse continually, and especially abroad, the reuerence and respect that becommeth the seruant toward the maister. And shall not do as many that meeting a Prince, how great soeuer he be, if they haue once spoken with him before, come toward him with a certaine smyling and friendly countenance, as though they would make of one their equall, or shewe fauour to an inferiour of theyrs. Very seldome or (in manner) neuer shall he craue any thing of his Lord for himselfe, least the Lord hauing respect to denie it him for himselfe, should happen to graunt it him with displeasure, which is farre worse. Againe, in suing for others, he shall discreetly obserue the times, and his sute shall bee for honest and reasonable matters, and he shall so frame his suits, in leauing out those points that he shall knowe will trouble him, and in making easie after a comely sort the lettes, that his Lord will euermore graunt it him: and though he denie it, he shall not think to haue offended him whom he meant not to do for, because great mē oftentimes after they haue denied request to one that hath sued

Not ill tongued.

The most made of, worst reporters.

Not sawcie. No pratler of newes.

Not stubborn.

No babler. No lyer. No boaster. No flatterer.

The behauior of some fond persons toward great men.

Why he shall not sue for himselfe.

His sute for others.

to

to them with great instance, thinke the person that laboured to the so earnestly for it, was very greedie of it, and therefore in not obtaining it, hath cause to beare him ill will that denied him it, and vpon this suspition they conceiue an hatred against that person, and can neuer afterward brooke him, nor affoord him good countenance. I he imagination of princes.

He shall not couet to preasse into the chamber or other secret places where his Lord is withdrawne, vnlesse he be bid, for all hee be of great authoritie with him, because great men oftentimes when they are priuately gotten alone, loue a certain libertie to speake and do what they please, and therefore will not be seene or heard of any person that may lightly deeme of them, and reason willeth no lesse. Therefore such as speake against great men for making of their chamber persons of no great qualitie in other things, but in knowing how to attend about their person (me thinke) commit an error, because I cannot see why they should not haue the libertie to refresh their minds, which we our selues would haue to refresh ours. But in case the Courtier that is inured with waighty affaires, happen to be afterward secretly in chamber with him, he ought to chaunge his boate, and deferre graue matters till an other time and place, and frame himselfe to pleasant communication, and such as his Lord will be willing to giue eare vnto, least hee hinder that good mode of his. But herein and in all other things, let him haue an especiall regard, that he be not combrous to him. And let him rather loke to haue fauour and promotion offred him, than craue it so openly in the face of the world, as many do that are so greedy of it, that a man would weene, the not obtaining it grieueth them as much as the losse of life: and if they chaunce to enter into any displeasure, or else see other in fauour, they are in such anguish of minde, that they can by no meanes dissemble their malice, and so make all men laugh them to scorne: and many times they are the cause that great men fauour some one, onely to spite them withall. And afterward if they happen to enter into fauour that passeth a meane, they are so drunken in it, that they know not what to do for ioy, and a man would weene that they wist not what were become of their feet and hands, & (in a maner) are readie to call company to behold them, & reioyce with them, as a matter they haue not bene accustomed

He shall not preasse into secret places.

Great men should make of their chamber men no great estimation.

Not to sue for promotions.

The griefe of some for anger.

The ioy of some in a meane authoritie.

accustomed withall. Of this sort I will not haue our Courtier to be. I would haue him to esteeme fauour and promotion: but for all that, not to loue it so much, that a man should thinke hée could not liue without it. And when he hath it, let him not shewe himselfe new or straunge in it, nor wonder at it when it is offered him: nor refuse it in such sort as some, that for very ignorance receiue it not, and so make men beleeue that they acknowledge themselues vnworthy of it. Yet ought a man alwayes to humble himselfe somewhat vnder his degrée, and not to receiue fauour and promotions so easily as they be offred him, but refuse them modestly, shewing he much esteemeth them, and after such a sort, that hée may giue him an occasion that offereth them, to offer them with a great deale more instance, because the more resistance a man maketh, in such maner to receiue them, the more doth he séeme to the prince that giueth them to be esteemed, and that the benefite which he bestoweth is so much the more, as he that receiueth it séemeth to make of it, thinking himselfe much honoured therby. And these are the true and perfect promotions that make men esteemed of such as sée them abroad, because when they are not craued, euery man coniectureth they arise of true vertue, and so much the more as they are accompanied with modestie. Then said the L. Cæsar Gonzaga: Ye think ye haue this clause out of ỳ Gospel, where it is writtē: When thou art bid to a marriage, goe and sit thee downe in the lowest roome, that when he commeth that bid thee, he may say, Friend come higher, and so it shall be an honour for thee in the sight of the ghestes. Sir Fridericke laughed, and said: It were too great a sacrilege to steale out of ỳ Gospel. But you are better learned in scripture then I was aware of: then he proceeded. See into what daunger they fall sometime, that rashly before a great man enter into talke vnrequired: and many times that Lord to scorne them withall, maketh no answere, and turneth his head to the other hand, and in case he doth make answere, euery man perceiueth it is done but scornefully. Therefore to purchase fauour at great mens hands, there is no better way than to deserue it. Neither must a man hope when he seeth an other in fauour with a Prince, for whatsoeuer matter, in following his steps to come to

Behauiour in receiuing promotion.

Promotions not begged.

The rashnesse of some.

To deserue fauour.

the

the same, because every thing is not fit for every man. And yée shall finde otherwhile some one that by nature is so readie in his merrie ieasts, that whatsoeuer he speaketh, bringeth laughter with it, and a man would wéene that he were borne onely for that: and if another that hath a graue fashion in him, of how good a wit soeuer he be, attempt the like, it will be very colde, and without any grace, so that he will make a man abhorre to heare him, and in effect will be like the Asse, that to counterfeit the Dogge, would play with his maister. Therefore it is méete each man know himselfe, and his owne disposition, and apply himselfe thereto, and consider what things are méete for him to follow, and what are not. Before ye goe any further, said here M. Vincent Calmeta, if I haue well marked, me thought ye said right now, that the best way to purchase fauour, is to deserue it: and the Courtier ought rather to tarry til promotions be offered him, than presumptuously to craue them. I feare me least this rule be little to purpose, and me thinke experience doth vs very manifestly to vnderstand the contrary, because now a dayes very fewe are in fauour with Princes, but such as be malapert. And I wote well you can be a good witnesse of some, that perceiuing themselues in small credit with their Princes, are come vp onely with presumption. As for such as come to promotion with modestie, I for my part know none, and if I giue you respite to bethinke your selfe, I beléeue ye wil find out but few. And if you marke the French court, which at this day is one of the noblest in all Christendome, ye shall find that all such as are generally in fauor there, haue in them a certain malapertnesse, & that not onely one with an other, but with the king himself. Do you not so say, answered sir Friderick, for in France there are very modest and curteous gentlemen. Truth it is, that they vse a certain libertie and familiaritie without ceremonies, which is proper and naturall vnto them, and therfore it ought not to be termed malapertnesse. For in that maner of theirs, although they laugh and ieast at such as be malapert, yet do they set much by them that séeme to them to haue any prowesse or modestie in them. Calmeta answered: Marke the Spaniards that séeme the very maisters of courtly fashions, and consider how many ye find that with women & great men are not

Not to counterfeit other mens doings.

Some ready in their ieasts.

The French gentlemen without ceremonies.

Spaniards.

most

most malapert, and so much worse than the French men, in that at the first shewe they declare a certaine modestie. And no doubt but they be wise in so doing, because (as I haue said) the great men of our time do all fauour such as are of these conditions. Then answered sir Friderick: I cannot abide (M. Vincent) that ye should defame in this wise the great men of our time, because there be many notwithstanding that loue modestie: the which I do not say of it selfe is sufficient to make a man esteemed, but I say vnto you, when it is accompanied with great prowesse, it maketh him much esteemed that hath it. And though of it selfe it lye still, the worthy deedes speake at large, and are much more to be wondred at, than if they were accompanied with presumption or rashnesse. I will not now denie, but many Spaniards there be ful of malapertnesse: but I say vnto you, they that are best esteemed, for the most part are very modest. Againe some other there be also so colde, that they flee the company of men too out of measure, and passe a certaine degree of meane: so that they make men deeme them eyther too fearefull, or too high minded. And this do I in no case allowe, neyther would I haue modestie so drye and withered, that it should become rudenesse. But let the Courtier, when it commeth to purpose, be well spoken, and in discourses vpon states, wise and expert, and haue such a iudgement that he may frame himselfe to the maners of the countrey, wheresoeuer he commeth. Then in lower matters let him be pleasantly disposed, and reason wel vpon euery matter, but in especiall tend alwayes to gwdnesse. No enuious person, no rarrier of an ill tongue in his head, nor at any time giuen to seeke preferment or promotion any naughtie way, nor by the meane of any subtill practise. Then said Calmeta: I will assure you all, the other wayes are much more doubtfull and harder to compasse, than is that you discommend, because now a dayes (to rehearse it againe) great men loue none but such as be of that condition. Do you not say, answered then sir Fridericke, for that were too plaine an argument, that the great men of our time were all vicious and naught, which is vntrue, for some there be that be good. But if it fell to our Courtiers lot to serue one that were vicious and wicked, as some as he knoweth it, let him forsake him, least

Many Spaniards be lawcie.

What modestie ought to be.

What he must do in seruice with y wicked.

leaſt he taſte of the bitter paine that all good men feele that ſerue the wicked. We muſt pray vnto God, anſwered Calmeta, to helpe vs to good, for when we are once with them, we muſt take them with all their faults, for infinite reſpects conſtraine a Gentleman after he is once entered into ſeruice with a Lord, not to forſake him. But the ill lucke is in the beginning: and Courtiers in this caſe are not vnlike vnluckie fowles bred vp in an ill vale. We think, quoth ſir Fridericke, dutie ought to preuaile before all other reſpects, but yet ſo that a Gentleman forſake not his Lord at the warre, or in any other aduerſitie, and be thought to doo it to follow Fortune, or becauſe he wanted a meane to profit by at all other times, I beleeue he may with good reaſon, and ought to forſake that ſeruice, that among good men ſhall put him to ſhame, for all men will imagine, that he that ſerueth the good, is good, and he that ſerueth the ill, is ill. I would haue you to cleare me of one doubt that I haue in my head, quoth then the L. Lodouicus Pius, namely whether a gentleman be bound or no, while he is in his Princes ſeruice, to obey him in all things which he ſhal commaund, though they were diſhoneſt and ſhameſull matters? In diſhoneſt matters we are not bound to obey any body, anſwered ſir Fridericke. And what (replyed the Lord Lodouicus Pius) if I be in ſeruice with a Prince who handleth me well, and hopeth that I will do any thing for him that may be done, and he happen to commaund me to kil a man, or any other like matter, ought I to refuſe to doo it? You ought, anſwered ſir Frideric, to obey your Lord in all things that tend to his profit and honour, not in ſuch matters as tend to his loſſe and ſhame. Therefore if he ſhould commaund you to conſpire treaſon, ye are not onely not bound to do it, but ye are bound not to do it, both for your owne ſake, and for being a miniſter of the ſhame of your Lord. Truth it is, many things ſeeme at the firſt ſight good, which are ill, & many ill, that notwithſtanding are good. Therefore it is lawfull for a man ſometime in his Lords ſeruice, to kill not one man alone, but tenne thouſand, and to do many other things, which (if a man wey thē not as he ought) will appeare ill, and yet are not ſo indeed. Then anſwered the Lord Gaſper Pallauicin: I beſeech you let vs heare you ſpeake ſomwhat in this caſe,

When a man may forſake his maiſter.

How and in what princes are to be obeyed.

Things otherwhile ſeeme good y be ill.

and

and teach vs how we may discerne things good indeed, from such as appeare good. I pray you pardon me (quoth sir Friderick) I will not at this time enter into that, for there were to much to be said in it: but all is to be referred to your discretion. Cleare ye me at the least of an other doubt, replyed the Lord Gasper. And what doubt is that, quoth sir Friderick? This answered the lord Gasper: I would knowe where I am charged by my maister in expresse words, in an enterprise or businesse what euer it be, what I haue to do therein: if I, at the deed doing thinking with my selfe in doing it more or lesse, or otherwise than my commission, to bring it more prosperously to passe, and more for his profite that gaue me that commission, whether ought I to gouerne my selfe according to the first charge, without passing the bounds of the commission, or else do the thing that I iudge to be best? Then answered sir Fridericke: In this poynt I would giue you the iudgement with the example of Manlius Torquatus, which in ỹ case for ouermuch affection, slew his sonne, if I thought him worthy great praise, which (to say the truth) I do not, although againe I dare not discommend him, contrary to the opiniõ of so many hundred yeares. For out of doubt it is a daungerous matter to swarue from the commaundements of mans superiours, trusting more in his owne iudgement than in theirs, whom of reason he ought to obey, because if his imagination faile him, and the matter take ill successe, he runneth into ỹ error of disobedience, and marreth that hée hath to do, without any maner of excuse, or hope of pardõ. Againe, in case ỹ matter come well to passe, according to his desire, he must thanke his fortune, and no more adoe. Yet in this sort a custome is brought vp, to set litle by the commaundement of the superiour powers. And by his example that bringeth the matter to good passe, which peraduenture is a wise man, & hath discoursed with reason, and also ayded by fortune afterward, a thousand ignorant persons, and light headed, will take a stomacke to aduenture in matters of most importance to do after their owne way, & to appeare wise, and of authoritie, will swarue from the commission of their heads, which is a very ill matter, and oftentimes the cause of infinit errors. But I beléeue in this point, the person whom the matter toucheth

Whether a man may follow a part of his owne mind in a commission.

T. Manlius Torquatus caused his son to be slain, for fighting contrary to commaundement.

Commaundements of the superiour powers are to be obeyed.

What he that receiueth a charge ought to doo.

touch eth ought to ſcanne it deepely, and (as it were) put it in a ballance the goodneſſe and commoditie that is like to enſue vnto him in doing contrarie to that he is charged, admitting his purpoſe ſucceed according to his hope, and counterpeyſe on the other ſide the hurt and diſcommodity that ariſeth, if in doing otherwiſe than he is commaunded, the matter chaunce to haue ill ſucceſſe: and knowing that the hurt may be greater and of more importance, if it ſucceed ill, then the profit, if it happen well, hee ought to refraine, and in euery poynt to obſerue his commiſſion. And contrariwiſe, if the profit be like to be of more importance, if it ſucceed well, than the hurt, if it happen amiſſe, I beleeue he may with good reaſon take in hand to do the thing that reaſon and iudgement ſhall ſet before him, and leaue ſomewhat aſide the very forme of the commiſſion, after the example of good Marchant men, that to gaine much, aduenture a little, and not much to gaine a little. I allow well that he haue a regard to the nature of the Lord he ſerueth, and according to that, frame himſelfe. For in caſe hee be rigorous, (as many ſuch there are) I would neuer counſell him (if he were my friend) to varye in apparell from the appointed order, leaſt it happen vnto him, as a maiſter Inginner of Athens was ſerued, vnto whom P. Craſſus Mutianus, being in Aſia, and going about to batter a towne, ſent to demaund of him one of the two ſhipmaſſes that hee had ſeene in Athens to make a Ram to beat downe the walles, and ſaid, he would haue the greater. This Inginner as he that was very cunning indeed, knew the greater would not very well ſerue for this purpoſe, and becauſe the leſſer was more eaſie to be caried, and alſo fitter to make that ordinance, he ſent that to Mutianus. And after he had vnderſtood how the matter paſſed, hee ſent for the poore Inginner, and aſked him why hee obeyed him not, and not admitting any reaſon he could alledge for himſelfe, made him to be ſtripped naked, beaten and whipped with roddes, ſo that he dyed, ſeeming to him in ſtead of obeying him, hee would haue counſelled him: therefore with ſuch rygorous men, a man muſt looke well to his doings. But let vs leaue apart now this practiſe of the ſuperiours, and come downe to the converſation that a man hath with his equalles or ſomewhat inferiours, for vnto them alſo muſt a man

The nature of the Lord to be conſidered.

The crueltie of Mutianus.

Converſation with a mans equalles.

a man frame himselfe, because it is more vniuersally frequented, and a man findeth himselfe oftner among them, then among his superiours. Although there be some fond persons, that being in companie with the greatest friend they haue in the world, if they meete with one better apparelled, by and by they cleaue vnto him: and if an other come into place better than hee, they do the like vnto him. And againe, when the Prince passeth through the Market place, through churches, or other haunted places, they make al men giue them rome with their elbowes, till they come to their heeles, and though they haue nothing to say to him, yet will they talke with him, and keepe him with a long tale, langh, clap the hands, and nod the head, to seeme to haue waightie businesse, that the people may see they are in fauour. But because these kinde of men vouchsafe not to speake but with great men, I will not we should vouchsafe to speake of them. Then the L. Iulian said: Since ye haue (quoth he) made mention of these that are so readie to fellowship themselues with the well apparelled, I would haue you to shew vs in what sort the Courtier should apparell himselfe, what kind of garment doth best become him, and how he should fit himselfe in all his garments about his body, because we see infinit varietie in it, and some are araied after the French fashion, some after the Spanish attire, an other will seeme a Dutchman. Neyther want we of them also that will cloathe themselues like Turkes: Some weare beardes, others do not. Therefore it were a good deed in this varietie, to shewe how a man should chose out the best. Sir Fridericke said: In very deed, I am not able to giue any certaine rule about rayment, but that a man should frame himselfe to the custome of the most. And since (as you say) this custome is so variable, and Italians are so desirous to take vp other mens fashions, I beleeue euery man may lawfully apparell himselfe at his pleasure. But I know not by what destinie it commeth, that Italy hath not (as it was wont to haue) a fashion of attire, knowne to be the Italian fashion: for although the bringing vp of these new fashions maketh the first to appeare very grosse, yet were they peraduenture, a token of libertie, where these haue bene a prognosticate of bondage, the which (me think) now is

Some fellowship themselues alwayes with the best apparelled.

Men that will seeme to be in fauour.

Of rayment and apparell.

plainly

plainly inough fulfilled. And as it is written, when Darius the yeare before he fought with Alexander, had altered his swoorde he woore by his syde, which was a Persiã blade, into the fashion of Macedonia, it was interpreted by the Southsayers, how this signified, that they into whose fashion Darius had altered the forme of his Persian blade, would become rulers of Persia: Euen so where we haue altered our Italian fashions into straunge, me thinke it signifieth, that all they into whose fashions ours were chaunged, should come to ouerrunne vs: the which hath bene to true, for there is not now a nation left that hath not left vs their pray, so that there remaineth little behinde to pray vpon, and yet for all that cease they not to pray still. But I will not enter into cõmunication of sorrow: therfore it shalbe wel to speake of the rayment of our Courtier, the which so it be not out of vse, nor contrary to his profession in ẏ rest, (I thinke) it wil do wel inough, so as the wearer be satisfied withal. Truth it is, that I would loue it the better, if it were not extreame in any part, as the French man is wont to be sometime ouerlong, and the Dutch man ouershort: but as then are both the one and the other amended & brought into better frame by the Italians. Moreouer I will alwayes holde with it, if it be rather somewhat graue and auntient, than garish. Therfore me thinke a black colour hath a better grace in garments than any other, & though not throughly blacke, yet somewhat darke, and this I meane for his ordinary apparell. For there is no doubt, but vpon armour it is more mete to haue lightly and merrie colours, and also garments for pleasure, cut, pompous and rich. Likewise in open shewes about triumphes, games, maskeries, and such other matters, because so appointed, there is in them a certaine liuelinesse and mirth, which indeed doth well set forth feates of armes and pastimes. But in the rest I could wish they should declare the solemnitie that ẏ Spanish nation much obserueth, for outward matters many times are a token of the inward. Then said the Lord Cæsar Gonzaga, I would not sticke much at this, for so a Gentleman be of worthinesse in other matters, his garmẽts neither encrease nor minish reputatiõ. Sir Friderick answered: Ye say true. Yet which of vs is there, that seeing a Gentleman go with a garment vpon his backe, quartered

Calder.

Italy a pray to all nations.

French men vse lõg wastes.

Dutch men short.

Graue apparell.

Blacke colour.

Colours vpon armour.

Solemnitie of Spaniards.

with sundrie colours, or with so many points tyed together, and all about with laces and fringes set overthwart, will not count him a very dizard, or a common iester? Neither dizard (quoth maister Peter Bembo) nor iester would a man count him, that had lived any while in Lumbardy, for there they goe all so. Why then, answered the Dutchesse smiling, if they goe all so, it ought not to be obiected to them for a vice, this kinde of attyre being as comely and proper to them, as it is to the Venetians, to weare their long wide sleeues, & to the Florentines their hods. I speake no more of Lumbardy quoth sir Friderick, than of other places, for in euery Nation ye shall finde both foolish and wise. But to speake that I thinke is most requisite as touching apparell, I will haue the Courtier in all his garments handsome and cleanly, & take a certain delite in modest precisenesse, but not for all that after a womanish or light manner, neither more in one point than in an other, as we see many so curious about their haire, that they forget all the rest. Other delight to haue their teeth faire: Other in their beard: Other in bul kins: Other in caps: Other in coyffes. And so commeth to passe, that those fewe things that they haue cleanly in the, appeare borrowed ware, all the rest which is most fond, is knowne to bee their owne. But this trade will I haue our Courtier to flye by my counsell, with an additiõ also, that he ought to determine with himself what he will appeare to be, and in such sort as he desireth to be esteemed, so to apparell himselfe, and make his garments helpe him to be counted such a one, euen of them that heare him not speake, nor see him doo any manner thing. I thinke it not meete (quoth the Lord Pallauicin) neither is it vsed amongst honest men, to iudge mens conditions by their garments, and not by their words and deeds, for many a man might be deceiued: and this prouerbe ariseth not without cause: The habit maketh not the Monke. I say not, answered sir Fridericke, that men should giue a resolute iudgement by this alone, of mens conditions, and that they are not knowne by words and deeds, more than by the garments. But I say that the garment is withall no small argument of the fansie of him that weareth it, although otherwhile it appeare not true. And not this alone, but all the behauiours, gestures, and manners, be-

Delights of men.

The garment iudgeth the minde.

ſyde woꝛds and déedes, are in a iudgement of the inclination of him in whom they are ſéene. And what things be thoſe, anſwered the Lord Gaſper, that you find we may giue iudgement vpon, that are neither woꝛds noꝛ déeds? Then ſaid ſir Fridericke: You are too ſubtill a Logitian: but to tell you as I meane, ſome Operations there are, that remain after they are done, as building, writing, and ſuch other: ſome remaine not, as theſe that I meane now. Therefoꝛe do I not count in this purpoſe, going, laughing, loking, and ſuch matters, to be Operations, and notwithſtanding, outwardly do giue many times a knowledge of that is within. Tell me, did you not giue your iudgement vpon that friend of ours wée communed of this moꝛning paſt, to bée a fooliſh and light perſon, as ſoone as you ſawe he wꝛied his head, and bowed his body, and inuited with a chearefull countenance the company to put off their cappes to him. So in like manner when you ſée one gaze earneſtly with his eyes abaſhed, as one that hath but little wit, oꝛ that laugheth ſo fondly as do thoſe dumbe men with the great wennes in their thꝛoate, that dwell in the mountaines of Bergamo, though he neither ſpeake, ne do any thing elſe, will ye not count him a very foole? Ye may ſée then, that theſe behauiours, manners, and geſtures, which I mind not foꝛ this time to terme Operations, are a great matter to make men knowne. But me thinke there is an other thing that giueth and diminiſheth much reputation: namely, the choiſe of friendes, with whome a man muſt haue inward conuerſation. Foꝛ vndoubtedly reaſon willeth that ſuch as are coupled in ſtraite amitie, and vnſeperable company, ſhould be alſo alike in will, in minde, in iudgement and inclination. So that who ſo is conuerſant with the ignoꝛant oꝛ wicked, hee is alſo counted ignoꝛant and wicked. And contrariwiſe, he that is conuerſant with the good, wiſe, and diſcréete, he is reckened ſuch a one. Foꝛ it ſéemeth by nature that euery thing doeth willingly fellowſhip with his like. Therefoꝛe I beléeue, that a man ought to haue a reſpect in the firſt beginning of theſe friendſhips, foꝛ of two neare friends, who euer knoweth the one, by and by he imagineth the other to be of the ſame condition.

Operations.

Gozzuti. Men in the mountaines with great bottles of fleſh vnder their chin, through the drinking of ſnowe water.

Choiſe of friends.

Then anſwered maiſter Peter Bembo: To be bound in friendſhip

with such agréement of mind as you speake of, me thinke indéed a man ought to haue great respect, not onely forgetting or losing reputation, but because now a dayes ye finde very fewe true friends. Neither do I beléeue that there are any more in the world, those Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Perithous, nor Scipio and Lælius, but rather it happeneth daily, I wote not by what destinie, that two friends which many yeares haue liued together with most heartie loue, yet at the ende beguile one an other, in one maner or other, eyther for malice or enuie, or for lightnesse, or some other ill cause, and each one imputeth the fault to his fellow, of that which perhaps both the one and the other deserueth. Therefore because it hath happened to me more than once to be deceiued of him whom I loued best, and of whom I hoped I was beloued aboue any other person, I haue thought with my selfe alone otherwhile to be well done, neuer to put a mans trust in any person in the world, nor to giue himselfe so for a pray to any friend, how deare and louing soeuer he were, that without stop a man should make him partaker of all his thoughts, as he would his owne selfe, because there are in our mindes so many dennes and corners, that it is impossible for the wit of man to know the dissimulations that lye lurking in them. I beléeue therefore that it is well done to loue and away with one more than an other, according to their deserts and honestie: but not for all that so to assure a mans selfe, with this sweete baite of friendship, that afterward it should be too late for vs to repent. Then said sir Friderick: Truly (quoth he) the losse should be much more than the gaine, if y high degrée of friendship should be taken from the fellowship of man, which (in mine opinion) ministreth vnto vs all the goodnesse contained in our life: and therefore will I in no case consent to you, that it is reasonable, but rather I can finde in my heart to conclude, and that with most euident reasons, that without this perfect friendship, men were much more vnluckie, than all other liuing creatures. And albeit some wicked and prophane taste of this holy name of friendship, yet is it not for all that, to be roted out of mens mindes, and for the trespasse of the ill, to depriue the good of so great a felicitie. And I beléeue verily for my part, there is héere among vs moe than one

Friendship necessary for the life of man.

couple

couple of friends, whose loue is indissoluble and without any guile at all, and to endure vntill death, with agréement of will, no lesse than those men of olde time, whom you mentioned right now. And so is it alwayes, when beside the inclination that commeth frō aboue, a man chooseth him a friend like vnto himselfe in conditions. And I meane the whole to consist among the good and vertuous men, because the friendship of the wicked is no friendship. I allow well, that this knot which is so straight, knit or bind no more than two, else were it in a hazard: for (as you know) three Instruments of Musicke are hardlier brought to agrée together, than two. I would haue our Courtier therfore to finde him out an especiall and heartie friend, if it were possible, of that sort we haue spoken of. Then according to their deserts and honestie, loue, honour, and obserue all other men, and alwayes do his best to fellowship himselfe with men of estimation, that are noble and knowne to be good, more than with the vnnoble and of small reputation, so he be also beloued and honoured of them. And this shall come to passe, if he be gentle, lowly, frée-hearted, easie to be spoken to, and sweete in company, humble and diligent to serue, and to haue an eye to his friends profit and estimation, as well absent as present, bearing with their naturall defaults that are to be borne withall, without breaking with them vpon a small ground, and correcting in himselfe such as lovingly shall be told him, neuer preferring himselfe before other men in seeking the highest and chiefe romes of estimation, neither in doing as some that a man would wéene despised the world, and with a noysome sharpnesse will tell euery man his dutie: and beside that, they are full of contention in euery trifling matter, and out of time, they controlle whatsoeuer they do not themselues, and alwayes seeke cause to complaine of their friends, which is a most hatefull thing. Here when sir Fridericke had made a stay, the L. Gaspar Pallauicin said: I would haue you to expresse somewhat more particularly this conuersation with friends, than you do, for indéed you kéepe your selfe too much in the generall, and touch vnto vs things (as it were) by the way. How by the way, answered sir Fridericke? Would you haue mée to tell you also the very words that a man must vse? Suppose you not then

Friendship of two togither.

A mans dutie towards his friend.

we haue sufficiently communed of this? I thinke yea, answered the Lord Gaspar, yet do I desire also to vnderstand some particular point of the manner of entertainment among men and women, which (me thinks) is a very necessarie matter, considering the most part of mans time is spent therein in Courts, and if it were alwayes after one maner wise, a man would some ware wearie of it. We thinke (answered sir Fridericke) we haue giuen the Courtier knowledge in so many things, that he may well varie his conuersation, and frame himselfe according to the inclination of them he accompanieth himselfe withall, presupposing him to be of a good iudgement, and therewithall to guide himselfe. And according to the time otherwhile, haue an eye to graue matters, and sometime to pastimes & games. And what games, quoth the Lord Gaspar? Sir Frideric answered: Let vs aske counsell of Friar Seraphin, that daily inuenteth new. But in good earnest (replyed the Lord Gaspar) do you not thinke it a vice in the Courtier to play at Dice and Cardes? I thinke it none, quoth sir Fridericke, vnlesse a man apply it too much, & by reason of that, setteth aside other things more necessarie, or else for none other intent but to get money, and to beguile his fellow, and in his losse, fume and take on so, that it might be thought a token of couetousnesse. The Lord Gaspar answered: and what say you to the game at Chesses? It is truly an honest kinde of entertainment, and wittie, quoth sir Fridericke. But me thinke it hath a fault, which is, that a man may be to cunning at it, for who euer will be excellent in the play of Chesse, I beleeue he must bestowe much time about it, and apply it with so much studie, that a man may as some learne some noble science, or compasse any other matter of importance, and yet in the end in bestowing all that labour, he knoweth no more but a game. Therefore in this I beleeue there hapneth a very rare thing, namely, that the mean is more cõmendable, than the excellencie. The L. Gaspar answered: There be many Spaniards excellent at it, and in many other games, which for al that bestow not much studie vpon it, nor yet lay aside the compassing of other matters. Beleeue not the contrarie answered sir Fridericke, but they bestowe much studie vpon it, although fayningly. As for those other games ye speake of

Dice and Cardes.

The play at Chesses.

The meane knowledge is best in the play at Chesses.

Spaniards dissemble their studie in y play at Chesses.

- besides

beſide Cheſts, peraduenture they are like many which I haue ſéen, that ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, but onely to make the common people wonder. Therefore (in mine opinion) they deſerue none other praiſe or reward, than the great Alexãder gaue vnto him, that ſtanding a far off, did ſo wel broch Chiche peaſon vpon a néedle. But becauſe fortune, as in many other things, ſo in the opinion of men ſéemeth to beare a great ſtroke, it is ſometime ſéene, ẏ a gentleman how well conditioned ſoeuer he be, and endued with many qualities, ſhall be little ſet by of a great man, & (as they ſay) groweth not in fauour with him, and without any cauſe why, that a man may diſcerne. Therefore when he commeth into his preſence without any acquaintance before hand, with the reſt about him, though he be wittie & readie in his anſweres, and behaueth himſelfe handſomely in his behauiour, in his conditions and words, and in what euer belongeth vnto him, yet will that Lord ſet light by him, and rather giue him an ill countenance, than eſtéeme him: and of this will ariſe that the reſt immediately will frame themſelues to their Lords minde, and it ſhall ſéeme vnto euery man that he is litle worth, neither will any man regard him, or make of him, or laugh at his pleaſant ſayings, or ſet any thing by him, but will begin all to ſerue him ſluttiſh prankes, and make him a Couſin, neither ſhall good anſweres ſuffice the poore ſoule, nor yet the taking of things as ſpoken in ieaſt, for euen the very Pages will be at him, ſo that were he the faireſt conditioned man in the world, he cannot chooſe but be thus bayted and ieaſted at. And contrariwiſe, if a Prince be inclined to one that is moſt ignorant, that can neither doo nor ſay any thing, his manners and behauiours (be they neuer ſo fond and fooliſh) are many times commended with acclamation and wonder of all men, and it ſéemeth that all the Court beholdeth and obſerueth him, and euery man laugheth at his bording and certaine Carter-like ieaſts, that would rather moue a man to vomit, than to laugh: ſo addicted and ſtiffe men be in the opinions that ariſe of the fauours and diſfauours of great men. Therefore will I haue our Courtier do the beſt he can (beſide his worthineſſe) to helpe himſelfe with wit and Art, and when euer hée hath to goe where he is ſtraunge and not knowne, let him pro-

Some worthy indeed, ſmally regarded of great men.

Ignorant men otherwhile in fauour.

cure there goe first a good opinion of him, before he come in person, and so worke, that they may vnderstand there, how he is in other places with Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen, in good estimation, because that fame which seemeth to arise of the iudgements of many, engendreth a certaine assured confidence of a mans worthinesse, which afterward finding mens mindes so settled and prepared, is easily with deedes maintained and encreased, beside that a man is eased of ỳ trouble ỳ I feele, whē I am asked the question who I am, and what is my name? I cannot see what this can helpe, answered M. Bernard Bibiena, for it hath sundrie times happened vnto me, and I beleeue to many moe, after I had grounded in my minde by report of many men of iudgement, a matter to be of great perfection before I had seene it, when I had once seene it, it fainted much, and I was much deceiued in mine imagination, and this proceeded of nothing else, but of giuing too much credit to fame and report, and of conceining in my minde so great an opinion, that measuring it afterward with the truth, the effect, though it were great and excellent, yet in comparison of that I had imagined of it, seemed very slender vnto me. Euen so (I feare me) may also come to passe of the Courtier. Therefore I cannot see how it were well done to giue these expectations, and to send that fame of a man before: because our mindes many times fashion and shape things, which is vnpossible afterward to answere to and fulfill, and so doth a man lose more than he gaineth by it. Here sir Fridericke said: Things that vnto you and many moe are lesse in effect than the fame is of them, are for the most part of that sort, that the eye at the first sight may giue a iudgement of them. As if you haue neuer bene at Naples or at Rome, when you heare men commone of it, you imagine much more of it, than perhaps you finde afterward in sight. But in the conditions of men it is not alike, because that you see outwardly is the least part. Therefore in case the first day you heare a Gentleman talke, ye perceiue not the worthinesse in him that you had before imagined, you do not so soone lose the good opinion of him, as you do in the things wherein your eye is by and by a iudge. But you will looke from day to day, to

Good opinion

Report deceiueth.

The report of things that the eye is iudge of, may deceiue.

Things in the iudgement of the minde.

haue

haue him diſcloſe ſome other hidden vertue, kéeping notwithſtan-ding alwayes the ſtedfaſt impʒinting which you haue riſen by the woʒds of ſo many. And this man then being, (as Ilet caſe our Courtier is) of ſo good qualities, he will euery houre ſtrengthen you moʒe and moʒe, to giue credence to that fame, foʒ that with his doings he ſhall giue you a cauſe, and you will euer iurmiſe ſomewhat moʒe to be in him, than you ſée. And certainly it cannot be denied, but theſe firſt impʒintings haue a very great foʒce, and a man ought to take much héed to them. And that you may vnderſtand of what waight they bee, I ſay vnto you, that I haue knowne in my dayes a Gentleman, who albeit he was of ſufficient mannerly behauiour, and modeſt conditions, and well ſéene in armes, yet was he not in any of theſe qualtiies ſo excellent, but there were many as good, and better. Notwithſtanding (as lucke ſerued him) it befell that a Gentlewoman entred moſt feruently in loue with him, and this loue daily encreaſing thʒough declaration that the young man made to agrée with her in that behalfe; and perceiuing no maner meane how they might come to ſpeak together, the gentlewoman pʒouoked with too great paſſion, opened her deſire vnto an other gentlewoman, by whoſe meane we hoped vpon ſome commoditie: this woman neither in blood noʒ in beautie was a whit inferiour to the firſt. Vpon this it came to paſſe, that we perceiuing her talke ſo effectually of this young man, whom ſhe neuer ſawe, and knowing how that Gentlewoman, whom ſhe wiſt well was moſt diſcréete, and of a very good iudgement, loued him extreamely, imagined foʒthwith that he was the faireſt, the wiſeſt, the diſcréeteſt, and finally, the woʒthieſt man to bée beloued that was in the woʒld: and ſo without ſéeing him, fell ſo déepe in loue with him, that ſhe pʒactiſed what ſhe could to come by him, not foʒ her friend, but foʒ her owne ſelfe, and to make him anſwerable to her in loue, the which ſhée bʒought to paſſe without any great adoo, foʒ (to ſay the troath) ſhée was a woman rather to be ſought vnto, than to ſéeke vnto others. Now heare a pʒetie chaunce. It happened no long time after, that a Letter which this laſt Gentlewoman writ vnto her Louer, came to the hands of an other, that was a noble.

The firſt conceiuing of a thing in ones minde.

An example what report can do.

ble women of excellent qualities and singular beautie, who being (as the most part of women are) inquisitiue and grædie to vnderstand secrets, and especially of other women, opened the letter, and in reading it, perceiued it was written with an extreame affection of loue. And in the sweete words (full of fire) that shee read, first moued her to take compassion on that Gentlewoman, (for shé knew very well from whome the Letter came, and to whome it went) afterward they had such force, that scanning them in her minde, and considering what manner a man this was like to be, that could bring that woman into such loue, by and by she fell into loue with him, and that Letter was more effectuall to worke in this case, than peraduenture it would haue bin if it had bene sent her from the young man himselfe. And as it chaunceth sometime, poyson prepared in a dish of meate for some great man, killeth him that taketh first of it: so this poore gentlewoman, because she was too grædie, dranke of the amorous poison that was ordained for an other. What shall I say to you? The matter was very open, and spread so abroad, that many women beside these, partly in despite of the other, and partly to do as the other did, bent all their studie and diligence to enioy his loue, and for a season played as children do at Chopcherie, & the whole procéeded of the first opinion which that woman conceiued, that heard him so praised of an other. Now the L. Gaspar Pallauicin answered her, smiling: You to confirme your iudgement with reason, alledge vnto me womens doings, which for the most part are voyd of all reason. And in case you would tell all, this good fellow so fauoured of so many women, was some doulte, and a man indéed not to be regarded, because the manner of them is alwayes to cleaue to the worst, and like shéepe to do that they sée the first do, be it well or ill: beside that, they be so spitefull among themselues, that if he had bene a monstrous creature, they would surely haue stolen him one from an other. Here many began, and (in manner) all, to speake against the L. Gasper, but the Dutchesse made them all to holde their peace. Afterward she said smyling: If the ill which you speake of women were not so farre wide from the truth, that in speaking it, it hurteth and shameth, rather

Womens deeds out of reason.

him

ther the speaker than them, I would suffer you to bée answered. But I will not haue you in speaking against you with a number of reasons, forsake your ill custome, because you may be sharply punished for this offence of yours, which shall be with the ill opinion that all they will conceiue of you, that heare you talke in this wise. Then answered sir Fridericke: Say not, my L. Gasper, that women are so voyd of reason, though sometime they apply themselues to loue more through the iudgement of others than their owne, for great men and many wise men, do oftentimes the like. And if it be lawful to tel the troath, you your selfe and all we here, haue many times, and do at this present, credite the opinion of others, more than our owne. And that it is true, not long ago there were certaine verses shewed here, that bore the name of Senazarus, and were thought of euery body very excellent, and praised out of reason, afterward when they were certainly knowne to bée an other mans doing, they lost by and by their reputation, and séemed worse than meane. And where there was sung in the Dutches presence here, a certain Antheme, it neuer delighted nor was reckned good, vntil it was knowen to be the doing of Iosquin de Pris. But what token will you haue more plainer of opinion? Do you not remember where you your selfe dranke of one selfe wine, sometime ye said it was most perfect, and an other time without all taste: and that because you had bene perswaded they were two sorts, the one of the Coast of Genua, and the other of this soyle, and when the errour was opened, by no means you would beléeue it: that false opinion was grounded so stiffy in your head, which arose notwithstanding of other mens words. Therefore ought the Courtier diligently to apply in the beginning to giue a good imprinting of himselfe, and consider what a harmefull and deadly thing it is, to run in the contrary. And in this daunger more than other men do they stand, that will make profession to be very pleasant, and with this they merrie fashion, purchase them a certaine libertie, that lawfully they may say and do what commeth in their minde, without thinking vpon it. For such men many times enter into certaine matters, which when they cannot get out againe, will afterward helpe themselues with

What opinion doeth.

Meny counterfeit to be pleasant.

with raising laughter, and it is done with so ill a grace, that it will in no wise traine, wherby they bring a very great loathsomenesse vpon as many as see or heare them, and they remaine very colde and without any grace or countenance. Sometime thinking thereby to be subtil witted and full of iealts, in the presence of honourable women, yea, and oftentimes to them themselues, they thrust out filthy and most dishonest words: and the more they see them blush at it, the better Courtiers they recken themselues, and still they laugh at it, and reioyce among themselues at this goodly vertue they thinke they haue gotten them. But they practise this beastlinesse for none other cause, but to be counted Good fellowes. This is the name only which they deeme worthy praise, and which they bragge more of, than of any thing else, and to get it them, they speake the foulest and shamefullest villanies in the world. Many times they shoulder one an other downe the staires, and hurle billets & bricks one at an others head: they hurle handfuls of dust in mens eies. They cast horse & man into ditches, or downe on the side of some hill. Then at table, pottage, sawce, gelies, and what euer commeth to hand, into the face it goeth. And afterward laugh, and whoso can do most of these trickes, he counteth himselfe the best and gallantest Courtier, & supposeth that he hath won great glory. And in case otherwhile they get a Gentleman in these their pleasant pastimes, that will not giue himselfe to such horse-play, they say by and by: He is too wise, we shal haue him a Counsellor, he is no good fellow. But I will tell you a worse matter. Some there be that contend and lay wager, who can eate and drinke more vnsauourie and stinking things, and so abhorring and contrary to mans senses, that it is not possible to name them without very great loathsomenes. And what things be those, quoth the L. Lodouicus Pius? Sir Fridericke answered: Let the Marquesse Phebus tell you, for he hath often seene it in Fraunce, and peraduenture felt it. The Marquesse Phebus answered: I haue seene none of these things done in France more than in Italy. But loke what good things the Italians haue in their garments, in feasting, in banketing, in feates of armes, and in euery other thing that belongeth to a Courtier, they haue it all of the

Filthy talke.

Good fellowes

Ruffianly prankes.

Italians borow of the French men.

French

French men. I denie not, answered sir Fridericke, but there are also among the French men very honest and sober gentlemen, and for my part I haue knowne many (without peraduenture) worthy all praise. But yet some there are of little good maners. And to speake generally (me thinke) ỹ Spaniards agrée more with Italians in conditions, than French men: because (in my minde) the peculiar quiet grauitie of the Spaniards is more agréable to our nature, than the quicke liuelinesse that is perceiued in the French nation, almost in euery gesture, which is not to be discommended in them, but is rather a grace, for it is so naturall and proper to them, that there is no maner affection or curiositie in it. There are manny Italians that would faine counterfeit their fashion, and can do nought else but shake the head in speaking, and make a leg with an ill grace, and when they come out of their dores into the citie, goe so fast that good footemen can scant ouertake them, and with these manners they wéene themselues good French men, and to haue of that libertie: which (ywis) chaunceth very seldome, sauing to such as are brought vp in Fraunce, and haue learned that fashion from their childhood. The like is to be said in the knowledge of sundrie tongues, which I commend much in our Courtier, and especially Spanish and French, because the entercourse of both the one nation and the other is much haunted in Italy, and these two are more agréable vnto vs than vnto any of the rest, and those two Princes for that they are very mightie in warre, and most royall in peace, haue their Courts alwayes furnished with valiant gentlemen, which are dispersed throughout the world, and againe we must néeds practise with them. I will not now procéed to speake any more particularly of matters too well knowne, as that our Courtier ought not to professe to be a glutton nor a drunkard, nor riotous and vnordinate in any ill conditiõ, nor filthy and vncleanly in his liuing, with certaine rude and boystrous behauiors that smel of the plough & cart a M. mile off, for he that is of that sort, it is not onely not to be hoped that he will make a good Courtier, but hée can bée set to no better vse than to kéepe shéepe. And to conclude, I say that (to doo well) the Courtier ought to haue

Spaniards agree with Italians in conditions.

Grauitie in Spaniards.

Liuelinesse in Frenchmen.

French fashions.

To haue sundry lãguages.

haue a perfect vnderſtanding in that we haue ſaid is méete for him, ſo that euery poſſible thing may be eaſie to him, and all men wonder at him, and he at no man: meaning notwithſtanding in this point that there be not a certaine lothe and vnmannerly ſtubbornneſſe, as ſome men haue that do ſhewe themſelues not to wonder at the things which other men do, becauſe they take vpon them that they can do them much better: and with their ſilence do commend them as vnworthy to be ſpoken of, and will make a geſture (in a manner) as though none beſide were (I will not ſay their equall, but) able to conceiue the vnderſtãding of the profoundneſſe of their cunning. Therefore ought the Courtier to ſhun theſe hatefull maners, and with gentleneſſe and courteſie praiſe other mens good déeds: and though he perceiue himſelfe excellent and far aboue others, yet ſhew ỹ he eſtéemeth not himſelf for ſuch a one. But becauſe theſe ſo full perfections are very ſeldome found in the nature of man, and perhaps neuer, yet ought not a man that perceiueth himſelfe in ſome part to want, to lay aſide his hope to come to a good paſſe, though he cãnot reach to that perfect and high excellency which he aſpireth vnto, becauſe in euery art there be many other places beſide the beſt, al praiſeworthy, & he that ſtriueth to come by the higheſt, it is ſeldome ſéene ỹ he palleth not the meane. I will haue our Courtier therefore, if he finde himſelfe excellent in any thing beſide armes, to ſet out himſelfe, and get eſtimation by it after an honeſt ſort, and be ſo diſcréet and of ſo good a iudgement, that he may haue the vnderſtanding after a comelye manner, and with good purpoſe to allure men to heare or to looke on that hée purpoſeth himſelfe to be moſt excellent in, making ſemblant alwayes to do it, not for a brágge, and to ſhewe it for a vaineglory, but a chaunce, and rather prayed by others, than comming of his own frée will. And in euery thing that he hath to dw or to ſpeake, if it be poſſible, let him come alwayes prouided, and thinke on it before hand, ſhewing notwithſtanding the whole to be done *Extempore*, and at the firſt ſight. As for the things he hath but a meane ſkill in, let him touch them (as it were) by the way, without grounding much vpon them, yet in ſuch wiſe that a man may beléeue he hath a great deale more cunning

Some cõmend not things well done.

Many places to be commended beſide the beſt.

How a man ſhould ſhewe his cunning.

ning therein than he vttereth : as certaine Poets sometime that harped vpon very subtill points of Philosophie, or other sciences, and peraduenture had small vnderstanding in the matter. And in that he knoweth himselfe altogether ignorant in, I will neuer haue him make any profession at all, nor seeke to purchase him any fame by it: but rather when occasion serueth, confesse to haue no vnderstanding in it. This, quoth Calmeta, would Nicholetto neuer haue done, which being a very excellent Philosopher, and no more skilfull in the lawe than in fleeing, when a gouernour of Padoa was minded to giue him one of the Lectures in the lawe, hee would neuer yeeld at the perswasion of many Schollers, to deceiue the opinion which the gouernour had conceiued of him, and confesse that he had no vnderstanding in it, but said still that hee was not in this point of Socrates opinion, for it is not a Philosophers part to say at any time, that he hath no vnderstanding. I say not, answered sir Fridericke, that the Courtier should of himselfe goe say he hath no vnderstanding, without it bee required of him: for I allow not this fondnesse, to accuse and debase himselfe. Again, I remember some otherwhile, that in like sort do willingly disclose some matters, which although they happened perhappes without any fault of theirs, yet bring they with them a shadow of slaunder, as did a gentleman (whom you all knowe) which alwayes when hee heard any mention made of the battell beside Perma against king Charles, he would by and by declare how he fled away, and a man would weene that he sawe or vnderstood nothing else in that iourney: Afterward talking of a certaine famous iust, he rehearsed continually how he was ouerthrowne: many times also he seemed in his talke to seeke how he might bring into purpose to declare, that vpon a night as he was going to speak with a gentlewoman, he was well beaten with a cudgell. Such trifling follies I will not haue our Courtier to speake off. But me thinke when occasion is offered to shewe his skill in a matter he is altogether ignorant in, it is well done to auoyd it. If necessitie compell him, let him rather confesse plainly his lacke of vnderstanding in it, than hazard himselfe, and so shall hee auoyd such blame that many deserue now a dayes, which I wotte

Sometime a mans ignorance is to be confessed.

Men vtter things to their shame many times.

How he shuld do in a matter he hath no skil in.

not through what corrupt inward motion or iudgement out of reason, do alwayes take vpon them to practise the thing they knowe not, and lay aside that they are skilfull in: and for a confirmation of this, I knowe a very excellent Musition, which leauing his musicke apart, hath wholly giuen himselfe to versifying, and thinketh himselfe a great Clarke therein, but indeed hee maketh euery man to laugh him to scorne, and now hath he also cleane lost his musicke. An other, one of the chiefest painters in the world, neglecting his Art wherein he was very excellent, hath applyed himselfe to learne Philosophy, wherein he hath such straunge conceits and monstrous fansies, that withall the painting hee hath he cannot paint them. And such as these there be infinite. Some there be, that knowing themselues to haue an excellencie in one thing, make their principall profession in an other, in which notwithstanding they are not ignorant, but when time serueth to shewe themselues in that they are most skilfull in, they do it alwayes very perfectly: and otherwhile it commeth so to passe, that the company perceiuing them so cunning in that which is not their profession, they imagine them to be much better in that they professe indeed. This Art in case it be coupled with a good iudgement, displeaseth me nothing at all. Then answered the Lord Gaspar Pallauicin: I thinke not this an Art, but a very deceit, and I beleeue it is not meete for him that will bee an honest man, to deceiue at any time. This quoth Sir Fridericke, is rather an ornament that accompanieth the thing he doth, than a deceit: and though it bee a deceit, yet it is not to bee disallowed. Will you not say also, that hee that beateth his fellow, where there be two playing at fence together, beguileth him, and that is because hee hath more Art than the other. And where you haue a Iewell that inset seemeth faire, afterward when it commeth to a Goldsmithes handes, that in well setting it, maketh it appeare much more fairer, will you not say that the Gold-smith deceiueth the eyes of them that loke on it? And yet for that deceit, deserueth he praise? for with iudgement and Art a cunning hand doth many times adde a grace and ornament to yuorie, to siluer, or to a stone that is faire in sight, setting it in Gold. We say not then

Men that take in hand things they haue no skill in.

ivory

that

that this Art or deceit (in case you will so terme it) deserueth any maner blame.

Also it is not ill for a man that knoweth himselfe skilfull in a matter, to seeke occasiõ after a comely sort to shewe his feat therin, and in like case to couer the parts he thinketh scant worthy praise, yet notwithstanding all after a certaine warie dissimulation. Doe you not remember how King Ferdinande, without making any shewe to seeke it, toke occasion very well to strip himselfe sometime into his doublet: and that because he knew he was very well made and nimble withall. And because his hands were not all of the fairest, he seldome plucked off his gloues, and (in maner) neuer. And fewe there were that toke heed to this warinesse of his. We thinke also I haue read, that Iulius Cæsar ware for the nonce a garland of Laurell, to hide his baldnesse withall. But in these matters a man must be very circumspect, and of a good iudgement, least he passe his bounds: for to auoyd one errour, oftentimes a man falleth into an other, and to get him praise, purchaseth blame. Therefore the surest way in the world, is, for a man in his liuing and conuersation to gouerne himselfe alwayes with a certaine honest meane, which (no doubt) is a great and most sure shield against enuie, the which a man ought to auoyd in what he is able. I will haue our Courtier also to take heed he purchase not the name of a lyar, nor of a vain person, which happeneth many times, and to them also that deserue it not.

King Ferdinand of Naples.

Iulius Cæsar.

An honest meane in liuing.

No lyar.

Therefore in his communication let him be alwayes heedfull not to goe out of the likelyhood of truth, yea and not to speake too often these truthes that haue y face of a lye, as many doe that neuer speak of wonders, and will be of such authoritie, that euery incredible matter must be beleeued at their mouth. Other, at the first entring into a friendship with a new friend, to get fauour with him, the first thing that they speake, sweare that there is not a person in the world whom they loue better, and they are willing to iopard they' life for his sake, and such other matters out of reason, and when they part from him, make wise to weepe, and not to speake a word for sorrow. Thus because they would be counted to bee very louing wormes, they make men count them lyers,

ers, and fond flatterers. But it were too long a matter and tedious, to recken vp all vices that may happen in conuersation. Therefore, for that I desire in the Courtier, it sufficeth to say (beside the matters rehearsed) that he be such a one that shall neuer want good communication, and fitte for them he talketh withall, and haue a good vnderstanding, with a certaine

Conceits and ieasts.

swetenesse to refresh the hearers mindes, and with merrie conceits and ieasts to prouoke them to solace and laughter, so that without being at any time loathsome or satiate, he may euermore delight. Now I hope my L. Emilia will giue me leaue to holde my peace, which in case she denie me, I shall by mine owne wordes be conuicted not to be the good Courtier I haue tolde you of: for not onely good communication, which neither at this time nor perhaps at any other, ye haue heard in me, but also this I haue, such as it is, doth cleane faile me. Then spake the L. Generall: I will not haue this false opinion to sticke in the head of any of vs, that you are not a very good Courtier: for (to say the truth) this desire of yours to holde your peace, proceedeth rather because you would be rid of your paine, than for that ye want talke. Therefore that it may not appeare in so noble an assembly as this is, and in so excellent talke, any parcell be left out, say you not nay to teach vs how we should vse these ieasts you haue made mention of, and shewe vs the Art that belongeth to all this kinde of pleasant speech to prouoke laughter and solace after an honest sort, for (in mine opinion) it is very necessary and much to purpose for a Courtier. My Lord, answered Sir Fridericke, ieasts and merry conceits are rather a gift, and a grace of nature, than of Art, but yet there are some nations more readier in it than other some, as the Tuscanes, which indeed are very subtill. Also it appeareth proper to the Spaniards to inuent merrie conceits. Yet are there many notwithstanding both of this Nation and other also, that in too much babling passe sometime their bounds, & waxe vnsauoury and fond, because they haue no respect to the condition of the person they commune withall, to the place where they be, to the time, to the grauitie and modestie which they ought to haue in themselues. Then answered the Lord Generall: You denie that

This discourse of ieasts is taken out of Cicero de Orat. lib. ii.

Respects in ieasting.

there

there is any Art in ieastes, and yet in speaking against such as obserue them not with modestie and grauitie, and haue not respect to the time and to the person they commune withall, me thinke ye declare that this may also be taught, and hath some doctrine in it. These rules (my Lord) answered Syr Fridericke, bee so general, that they may bs applied to euery matter, and helpe it forward. But I haue said there is no Art in ieastes, because (me thinke) they are onely of two sortes: whereof the one is enlarged in communication that is long and without interruption: as is seene in some men, that with so good an vtterance and grace, and so pleasantly declare and expresse a matter that happened vnto them, or that they haue seene and heard, that with their gesture and words they set it before a mans eyes, and (in manner) make him feele it with hand, and this peraduenture for want of an other terme we may call Festiuitie, or else Ciuilitie. The other sort of ieasts is very briefe, and consisteth only in quicke and subtil sayings, as many times there are heard among vs, and in nickes: neither doeth it appeare that they are of any grace without that little byting, and these among them of olde time were also called Sayings, now some terme them Priuie tauntes. I say therefore in the first kinde, which is a merrie manner of expressing, there needeth no Art, because very nature her self createth and shapeth men apt to expresse pleasantly, and giueth them a countenance, gestures, a voyce, and words for the purpose to counterfeit what they list. In the other of priuie tauntes, what can Art do? Since that quippie ought to bee shot out, and hitte the pricke before a man can discerne that hee that speaketh it can thinke vpon it, else it is colde and little worth. Therefore (thinke I) all is the worke of wit and nature. Then toke M. Peter Bembo the matter in hand, and said: The Lord Generall denieth not that you say: namely, that nature and wit beare not the chiefest stroke, especially as touching inuention, but it is certaine that in each mans minde, of how good a wit soeuer he be, there arise conceits both good an bad, and more and lesse, but then iudgement and Arte doeth polish and correct them, and chuseth the good and refuseth the badde. Therefore laying aside that belongeth to witte, declare you vnto vs that consi-

Cauilatio.

Dicacitas.

Dicta.

ferth in Art: that is to wit, of iestes and merrie conceits that moue to laughter, which are meete for the Courtier, and which are not, and in what time and manner they ought to be vsed: for this is that the Lord Generall demaundeth of you. Then Sir Fridericke said smiling: There is neuer a one of vs here that I will not giue place vnto in euery matter, and especially in ieasting, vnlesse perhappes follies, which make men laugh many times more than wittie sayings, were also to be allowed for ieastes. And so turning him to Count Lewis and to Maister Bernarde Bibiena, he said vnto them: These be the maisters of this faculti'e, of whom in case I must speake of merrie sayings, I must first learne what I haue to say. Count Lewis answered: We thinke you begin riots to practise that you say ye are not skilfull in, which is, to make these Lords laugh in mocking maister Bernarde and me, because euery one of them woteth wel, that the thing which you practise vs for, is much more perfectly in you. Therefore in case you be wearie, it is better for you to sue to the Dutchesse that it would please her to deferre the remnant of our talke till to morrow, than to goe about with craft to rid your hands of paines taking.

Sir Friderick began to make answere, but the L. Emilia interrupted him immediately, and said: It is not the order that the disputatiō should be consumed vpon your praise, it sufficeth ye are very well knowne all. But because it commeth in my minde that you (Count) imputed to me yesternight, that I deuided not the paines taking equally, it shalbe wel done that Sir Fridericke rest him a while, and the charge of speaking of ieastes we will commit to maister Bernarde Bibiena; for we do not onely know him very quicke witted in talking without intermission, but also it is not out of our memorie that he hath sundrie times promised to write of this matter. And therefore we may thinke he hath verie well thought vpon it all this while, and ought the better to satisfie vs in it. Afterward when there shal be sufficiently spoken of ieasts, sir Friderick shal proceed forward againe with that he hath yet behinde concerning the Courtier.

Then said sir Fridericke: Madam, I knowe not what I haue left behinde any more, but like a traueller on the way,

now

now wearie of the painefulnesse of my long iourney at nonetide, I will rest mée in Maister Bernardes communication at the sounde of his wordes, as it were vnder some faire trée that casteth a goodly shadowe at the sweete roaring of a plentifull and liuing spring: afterwarde (may happe) being somewhat refreshed, I may haue somewhat else to say. Maister Bernarde answered laughing: If I shewe you the toppe, yée shall sée what shadowe may be hoped for at the leaues of my trée. To heare the roaring of the lively spring yée spake of, it may happen bée your chaunce so to doo, for I was once turned into a spring: not by any of the Goddes of olde time, but by our Friar Marian. And from that time hitherto I neuer wanted water. Then began they al to fal in a laughing, because this pleasant matter which M. Bernarde meant, hapned to him in Rome in the presence of Galeotto, Cardinal of S. Petro in Vinculo, was wel knowne to them all. After they had ceased laughing, the Lady Emilia said: Leaue now making vs laugh with practising of ieastes, and teach vs how we should vse them, and whence they are deriued, and what euer else ye know in this matter. And for losing any more time, begin out of hand. I doubt mée (quoth M. Bernarde) it is late, and least my talke of pleasant matters should seeme vnpleasant and tedious, perhaps it were good to deferre it til to morrow. Here incontinently many made answere that it lacked yet a good deale of the houre when they were wont to leaue off reasoning. Then M. Bernarde turning to the Dutches and the Lady Emilia, I wil not refuse this labor (quoth he) although I be wont to maruel at the boldenesse of them ẏ dare take vpon them to sing to ẏ Lute, when our Iames Sasecondo standeth by, euen so ought not I in ẏ presence of hearers that haue much better vnderstanding in that I haue to say, than I my selfe, take vpon me to entreate of ieastes. Neuertheles, least I should shewe a president to any of these Lords to refuse ẏ they shal be charged withal, I wil speake as briefly ae I can possible what commeth in my minde, as touching matters that cause laughter, which is so proper to vs, ẏ to describe a man, the cõmon saying is, He is a liuing creature that can laugh: because this laughing is perceiued onely in a man, and (in manner) alwayes is a token of a

Homo animal risibile.

certaine iocondnesse and merrie mode that hée feeleth inwardly in his minde, which by nature is drawne to pleasantnesse, and coueteth quietnesse and refreshing, for which cause wée see men haue inuented many matters, as sportes, games, and pastimes, and so many sundrie sorts of open shewes. And because wée beare good will to such as are the occasion of this recreation of ours, the manner was among the Kings of olde time, among the Romaines, the Athenians, and many other, to get the good will of the people withall, and to féede the eyes and mindes of the multitude, to make great Theatres, and other publique buildings, and there to shewe new deuices of pastimes, running of horses & Charrets, fightings of men together, straunge beastes, Comedies, Tragedies, and daunces of Antique. Neither did the graue Philosophers shunne these sights; for many times both in this manner and at banquets they refreshed their wearisome mindes, in those high discourses and diuine imaginations of theirs. The which in like maner all sorts of men are willing to doe, for not onely Ploughmen, Mariners, and all such as are inured with hard and boysterous exercises with hand, but also holy religious men and prisoners that from houre to houre waite for death, goe about yet to séeke some remedie and medicine to refresh themselues. Whatsoeuer therfore causeth laughter, the same maketh the mind iocond and giueth pleasure, nor suffereth a man in that instant to minde the troublesome griefes that our life is full of.

To feede the eyes of the people.

Therefore (as you see) laughing is very acceptable to all men, and hée is much to bée commended that can cause it in due time, and after a comely sort. But what this laughter is, and where it consisteth, and in what manner, sometime it taketh the veines, the eyes, the mouth, and the sides, and seemeth as though it would make vs burst, so that what euer resistance wée make, it is not possible to keepe it, I will leaue it to bée disputed of Democritus, the which also in case hée would promise vs, hée should not performe it. The place therefore, and (as it were) the head-spring that laughing matters arise of, consisteth in a certaine deformitie, or ill fauouredneſſe, because man laugheth onely at those matters that are disagreeing in themselues, and

Wherin laughing matter consisteth.

(to

(to a mans ſéeming) are in ill plight where it is not ſo indéede. I wote not otherwiſe how to expound it, but if you will bethinke your ſelfe, yée ſhall perceiue the thing that a man alwayes laugheth at, is a matter that ſoundeth not well, and yet is it not in ill ſitting. What kinde of wayes therefore thoſe bée that the Courtier ought to vſe in cauſing laughing, and of what ſcope, I wil aſſay in what I can, to vtter vnto you as farre as my iudgement can giue me, becauſe to make men laugh alwayes, is not comely for the Courtier, nor yet in ſuch wiſe as frantike, drunken, ſolish, & fond men, and in like maner common ieſters do: and though to a mans thinking, Courts cannot be without ſuch kinde of perſons, yet deſerue they not the name of a Courtier, but each man to bée called by his name, and eſtéemed ſuch as they are. The ſcope and meaſure to make men laugh in taunting, muſt alſo be diligently conſidered, who he is that is taunted: for it prouoketh no laughter to mocke and ſcorne a ſilly ſoule in miſerie and calamitie, nor yet a naughtie knaue & cõmon ribauld, becauſe a man would thinke that theſe mẽ deſerued to be otherwiſe puniſhed, than in ieſting at. And mens mindes are not bent to ſcoffe them in miſerie, vnleſſe ſuch men in their miſhappe bragge and boaſt of themſelues, and haue a proud and hautie ſtomacke. Againe, a reſpect muſt be had to them that are generally fauoured and beloued of euery man, and that beare ſtroke, becauſe in mocking and ſcorning ſuch a one, a man may ſometime purchaſe himſelfe daungerous enmitie. Therefore it is not amiſſe to ſcoffe and mocke at vices that are in perſons not of ſuch miſerie that it ſhould moue compaſſion, nor of ſuch wickednéſſe that a man would thinke they deſerued not to goe on the ground, nor of ſuch authoritie, that any little diſpleaſure of theirs may be a great hinderance to a man. You ſhall vnderſtand moreouer, that out of the places ieaſting matters are deriued from, a man may in like maner picke graue ſentences to praiſe or diſpraiſe. And otherwhile with the ſelfe ſame words: as to praiſe a liberall man that partaketh his goods in cõmon with his friends, the common ſaying is, That he hath is none of his own: the like may be ſaid in diſpraiſe of one y hath ſtolen or compaſſed that he hath by other ill means. It is alſo a common ſaying, She is a woman of no ſmall

Conſideratiõs in ieſting.

Who are to be ieſted at.

Praiſe or diſpraiſe in the ſelfe-words.

small price, when a man wil praise her for her vertues, for her wisdoms and godnesse. The very same may be said of a woman that loketh to be kept sumptuously: but it commeth oftner to purpose, that a man in this case scrueth his turne with the selfe same places, than with the selfe same words. As within these fewe dayes three gentlemẽ standing at masse together in a church where was a gentlewoman one of the three was in love withal, there came a poore begger & stood before her requiring her almes, and so with much instance and lamenting, with a groning voice repeated many times his request: yet for al that did she not giue him her almes, nor denie it him in making signe to depart in Gods name, but stood musing with her selfe as though she minded an other matter. Then said the gentleman that loued her, to his two companions: se what I may hope for at my mistresse hands, which is so cruell, that she wil neither giue the poore naked soule dead for hunger, that requireth her with such passion & so instantly, her almes, ne yet leaue to depart, so much she reioyceth to behold with her eies one that is brought low with misery, and that in vain requireth her reward. One of the two answered: it is no crueltie, but a prime admonition for you, to do you to wet, that your mistresse is not pleased with him that requireth her with much instance. The other answered: Nay, it is rather a lesson for him, ꝑ although she giue not that is required of her, yet she is willing inough to be sued to. See here, because the gentlewomã sent not the poore man away, there arose one saying of great dispraise, one of modest praise, and an other of nipping bord. To returne therefore to declare the kindes of iestes appertaining to our purpose, I say (in mine opinion) there are of three sorts, although sir Fridericke hath made mention but of two. The one a ciuill and pleasant declaration without interruption, which consisteth in the effect of a thing. The other a quick and subtil readinesse, which cõsisteth in one saying alone. Therefore will we adde a third sort to these, which we call Boordes or merrie Prankes, wherein the processe is long, and the sayings short, and some deedes withall. The first therefore that consisteth in communication without interruption, are in that sort (in a manner) as though a man would tell a tale. And to giue you an example, when Pope Alexander the

Re.

Dicta.

Cicero mentioneth not this last kinde of iestes.

ſirſt dyed, and Pius the third created, being then in Rome, and in the Pallace, your ſir Anthonie Agnello of Mantua, my L. Dutcheſſe, and communing of the death of the one, and creation of the other, and therin making ſundrie diſcourſes with certaine friends of his, he ſaid: Sirs, in Catullus time, gates began to ſpeake without tongue, and to heare without eares, and in that ſort diſcouered Aduouteries. Now although men be not of ſuch worthineſſe as they were in thoſe dayes, yet perhappes the gates that are made, a great ſort of them, eſpecially here in Rome, of auntient Parble, haue the ſame vertue they had then. And for my part I beleeue that theſe two will cleare vs of all our doubts, in caſe we will aſke counſell of them. Then thoſe Gentlemen mused much at the matter, and attended to ſee to what ende it would come, when ſir Anthonie following on ſtill vp and downe, lift vp his eyes, as at a ſodaine, to one of the two gates of ẏ Hall where they walked: and ſtaying a while, with his finger he ſhewed his cõpany the inſcription ouer it, which was Pope Alexanders name, and at the end of it was V, and I, becauſe it ſhould ſignifie (as yee know) the firſt. And ſaid: See here, this gate ſaith Alexander Papa VI. which ſignifieth, he hath bin Pope through ẏ force he hath vſed, and hath preuailed more therby than with right and reaſon. Now let vs ſee if we may of this other vnderſtand any thing of the new Biſhop: and turning him as at aduenture to the other gate, pointed to the inſcription of one N. two PP. and one V. which ſignifieth Nicolaus Papa Quintus, and immediately hee ſaid: God Lord, ill newes, ſee here, this gate ſaith *Nihil Papa Valet*. See now how this kinde of Jeſtes is proper and good, and how fitting it is for one in Court, whether it be true or falſe a man ſaith, for in this caſe it is lawfull to feigne what a man liſteth without blame: and in ſpeaking the truth, to ſet it forth with a feate lye, augmenting or diminiſhing according to the purpoſe. But the perfect grace and very pith of this, is to ſet forth ſo well and without paine, not onely in words, but in geſtures, the thing a man purpoſeth to expreſſe, that vnto the hearers he may appeare to doo before their eyes the things hee ſpeaketh of. And this expreſſed manner in this wiſe hath ſuch force, that otherwhile it ſetteth forth and maketh a matter

Alexander PP. VI.

N. PP. V.

delight

delight very much, which of it selfe is not very merrie nor wittie. And although these protestations neede gestures, and the earnestnesse that a liuely voyce hath, yet is the force of them knowne also otherwhile in writing. Who laugheth not when Iohn Boccaccio in ỹ eight tournie of his hundreth tales, declareth how the Priest of Varlungo strained himselfe to sing a Kyrie and a Sanctus, when he perceiued Belcolore was in the Church: These be also pleasant declarations in his tales of Calandrino, and many other. After the same sort seemeth to be ỹ making of a man laugh in counterfeiting or imitating (how euer we lik to terme it) of a mans manners, wherein hitherto I haue séene none passe our M. Robert of Bari. This were no small praise, quoth M. Robert, if it were true, for then would I surely goe about to counterfeit rather the good than the bad: and if I could liken my selfe to some I knowe, I would thinke my selfe a happie man. But I feare me I can counterfeite nothing but what maketh a man laugh, which you said before consisteth in vice. Maister Bernarde answered: In vice indéede, but that, that standeth not in ill plight. And wéete ye well, that this counterfeiting yée spake of, cannot be without wit, for beside the manner to apply his words and his gestures, and to set before the hearers eies the countenance and manners of him he speaketh of, he must be wise, and haue great respect to the place, to the time, and to the persons with whom he talketh, and not like a commõ iester, passe his bounds, which things you wonderfully well obserue, and therefore I beléeue yée are skilfull in all. For vndoubtedly it is not méete for a Gentleman to make wéeping and laughing faces, to make soundes and voyces, and to wrastle with himselfe alone, as Berto doth, to apparell himselfe like a lobbe of the Countrey, as doth Strascino, & such other matters, which do well become them, because it is their profession. But we must by the way, and priuily steale this counterfeiting, alwayes keping the estate of a gentleman, without speaking filthy words, or doing vncomely déedes, without making faces and antiques, but frame our gestures after a certaine maner, that whoso heareth and seeth vs, may by our words and countenances imagine much more than he seeth and heareth, and vpon that take occasion to laugh. He must also in this

Giomata 8. Nouella. 2.

Gior. 8. Nouel. 2. & 6.

Gior. 9. Nouel. 3. & 5.

Counterfeiters of mens maners.

counter-

counterfeiting, take heede of too much taunting in touching a man, especially in the ill fauouredneſſe of viſage, or ill ſhape of body. For as the miſhapes and vices of the body miniſter many times ample matter to laugh at, if a man can diſcreetly handle it, euen ſo the vſing of this maner too bytingly, is a token not onely of a common ieaſter, but of a plaine enemie. Therefore muſt a man obſerue in this point (though it be hard) the faſhion of our maiſter Robert, as I haue ſaid, which counterfeiteth all men, and not without touching them in the matters wherin they be faultie, and in preſence of themſelues, and yet no man findeth himſelfe agrieued, neither may a man thinke that he can take it in ill part. And of this I will giue you no example, becauſe we all ſee infinit in him dayly. Alſo it prouoketh much laughter (which neuertheleſſe is contained vnder declaration) when a man repeateth with a good grace certain defaults of other men, ſo they be meane and not worthy greater correction: as fooliſh matters ſometime ſimply of themſelues alone, ſometime annexed with a little readie nipping fondneſſe. Likewiſe certain extreame curious matters. Otherwhile a great & well forged lye: As few daies ago our M. Cæſar declared a pretie fooliſh matter, which was, that being with the Maior of this Citie, he ſawe a Countrey man come to him, to complaine that he had an Aſſe ſtolen frō him, and after he had tolde him of his pouertie, and how the thiefe deceiued him, to make his loſſe the greater he ſaid vnto him: Sir, if you had ſeene mine Aſſe, you ſhould haue knowne what a cauſe I haue to complaine, for with his pad on his backe, a man would haue thought him very Tully himſelfe. And one of our traine meeting a heard of Goates, before the which was a mighty great Ram-Gote, he ſtayed, and with a marueilous countenance ſaid: Marke me this Gote, he ſeemeth a S. Paul. The Lord Gaſpar ſaith, he knew an other, which for that he was an old ſeruant to Hercules, duke of Ferrara, did offer him two pretie boyes which he had, to be his pages, and theſe two died both before they came to his ſeruice. The which when the Duke vnderſtood, he lamented louingly with the father, ſaying, that he was very ſorie, becauſe when he ſawe them vpon a time, he thought them handſome and wittie children. The father made anſwere: May my Lord, you ſawe nothing, for within

Nippes that touch a man.

Fooliſh matters.

within these fewe dayes they were become much more handsomer and of better qualities then I would ever haue thought, and sung together like a couple of Haiwkes. And one of these dayes a Doctour of ours beholding one that was iudged to be whipped about the Market place, and taking pittie vpon him, because the poore soules shoulders bled sore, and went so soft a pace, as though hee had walked about for his pleasure to passe the time withall, he said to him: Goe on a pace poore fellow, that thou mayest bee the sooner out of thy paine. Then hee turning about, and beholding him that so said (in a manner) with a wonder, stayed a while without any word, afterward he said: When thou art whipped, goe at thy pleasure, for now will I goe as I shall thinke good.

The iudgement of an Abbot.

You may remember also the foolish matter that not long agoe the Duke rehearsed of the Abbot, that being present vpon a day when Duke Fridericke was talking where hee should bestowe the great quantitie of rubbish that was cast vp to lay the foundation of this Pallace, working dayly vpon it, said: My Lord, I haue well bethought me where you shall bestowe it, let there be a great Pitte digged, and into that may you haue it cast without any more adoo. Duke Fridericke answered him, not without laughter: And where then shall we bestowe the quantitie of earth that shall bee cast out of that Pitte? The Abbot said vnto him: Let it bee made so large, that it may well receiue both the one and the other. And so for all the Duke repeated sundrie times the greater the Pitte was, the more earth should be cast out of it, yet could he never make it stinke into his braine, but it might bee made so large, that it might receiue both the one and the other: and hee answered him nothing else, but make it so much the larger. Now see what a good forecast this Abbot had. Then said Maister Peter Bembo: And why tell you not that of your great Captaine of Florence, that was besieged of the Duke of Calabria within Castellina? where there were found vpon a day in the Towne certaine quarels poysoned, that had beene shot out of the Campe, hee wrote vnto the Duke, if the warre should proceede so cruelly, hee would also put a medicine vpon his Gun-stones, and then hee that hath the worst, hath his mends in his hands. Maister

ter Bernard laughed and said: If you holde not your peace (M. Peter) I will tell whatsoeuer I haue seene my selfe, and heard of your Venetians, which is not a little, and especially when they play the ryders. Do not I beseech ye, answered M. Peter, for I will kéepe to my selfe two other very prétie ones that I knowe of your Florentines. M. Bernard said: They are rather of the Senases, for it often happeneth among them. As within these fewe dayes one of them hearing certaine Letters read in the Councell-Chamber, in which for auoyding too often repetition of his name that was spoken of, this terme was many times put in, Il Prelabato, (which signifieth the aforenamed) hée said vnto them that read them: Soft, stay there a little, and tell mée this Prelibato, what is he? A friend to our Communaltie? Maister Peter laughed: then hée proceded: I speake of Florentines, and not of Senases. Speake it hardly, quoth the L. Emilia, and bash not for that matter. M. Peter said, when the Lords of Florence were in war against the Pisanes they were otherwhile out of mony, by reason of their great charges, and laying their heads together vpon a day in the councell-chamber, what way were best to make prouision to serue their turne withall, after many deuices propounded, one of the auncientest Citizens said: I haue found two wayes, whereby without much trauell, wée may in a small while come by a good portion of money. Whereof ỹ one is (because we haue no readier rent than ỹ custome at the gates of Florence) where we haue 11. gates, let vs with spéed make a 11. mae, & so shall we double our reuenue. The other way is, to set vp a Mint in Pistoia, and an other in Prato, no more nor lesse than is here within Florence, & there do nothing else day and night but coyne money, and all Ducates of gold: and this deuice in mine opinion, is the spédier, and lesse chargeable. They fel a laughing a pace at the subtill deuice of the Citizen, and when laughing was ceased, the L. Emilia said: Will you (M. Bernard) suffer M. Peter thus to iest at Florẽtins without a reuenge? M. Bernard answered smiling: I pardon him this offence, for where he hath displeased me in iesting at Florẽtins, he hath pleased me in obeying of you, the which I woulde alwaies do my self. Then said the L. Cæsar: I heard a Senesiã speak a iolly grosse matter, which being this

Siena.

A Florentines deuice.

Vpon the Ascention day a great Faire in Venice.

A faire vessell of pleasure in Venice made Gally-wise.

Euery yeare vpon the Ascention day the Duke with al the counsel goeth in it a mile or two into y sea, and there casteth a ring of gold into it, thinking by this yearly ceremonie, they so marry the sea, that it will neuer leaue the Citie on drie land.

yeare in Venice, at the feast of the Ascention, rehearsed in a place where I was, to certaine mates of his, the goodly matters he had séene there, what sundrie marchandize, what plate, what sorts of spyces, and what cloath & silke there was, then how the Signoria issued out with a great pompe in the Bucentoro, to wed the Sea, in which were so many Gentlemen well apparelled, so many sorts of instruments and melodies, that a man would haue thought it a Paradise. And when one of his companions demanded him what kinde of musicke did please him best of all that he had heard there, hée said: All were good, yet among the rest, I sawe one blowe on a straunge Trumpet, which at euerie push thrust it into his throate more than two handfull, and then by and by drew it out againe, and thrust it in a fresh, that you never saw a greater wonder. Thē they all laughed, vnderstanding the fond imagination of him that thought the blower thrust into his throat that part of the Shagbut that is bid in putting it backe againe. Then S. Bernard went forward: Those affectatiōs and curiosities that are but meane, lying a loathsomenesse with thē, but whē they be done out of measure, they much prouoke laughter. As otherwhile when some mē are heard to speake of their auncientrie and noblenesse of byrth: sometime women of their beautie and handsomnesse: as not long ago a Gentlewomā did, which at a great feast being very sad, and musing with her selfe, it was demaunded of her what she thought vpon, that should make her so sad. And thē made answere, I thought vpon a matter, which as oft as it commeth into my minde, doth much trouble me, and I cannot put it out of my heart: which is, where in the day of generall iudgement, all bodies must arise againe and appeare naked before the iudgement seat of Christ, I cannot abide the griefe I féele in thinking that mine must also be séene naked. Such affectations as these be, because they passe the degrée, do rather prouoke laughter than loathsomenesse.

Feate lyes.

Those feate lyes now that come so well to purpose, how they prouoke laughter yée all knowe. And that friend of ours that sufferéth vs not to want, within these fewe dayes rehearsed one to mée that was very excellent. Then said the L. Iulian: What euer it were, more excellenter it cannot bée, nor more subtiller, than one that a Tuscane of

ours,

ours, which is a Merchant man of Luca, affirmed vnto me the last day for most certaine. Tell it vs, quoth the Duchesse. The L. Iulian said smiling: This Merchant man (as he saith) being vpon a time in Polonia, determined to buye a quantitie of Sables, minding to bring them into Italy, and to gaine greatly by them. And after much practising in the matter, where he could not himselfe go into Moscouia, because of the war betwixt the king of Polonia & the Duke of Moscouia, he toke order by ỹ meane of some of the country, that vpon a day appointed, certaine merchant men of Moscouia should come with their Sables into ỹ borders of Polonia, and he promised also to be there himselfe to bargaine with them. This Merchant man of Luca trauelling then with his company towards Moscouia, arrived at ỹ riuer of Boristhenes, which he found hard frozen like a marble stone, and sawe the Moscouites which for suspition of ỹ war, were in doubt of the Polakes, were on the other side, and nearer came not than the breadth of the River. So after they knew the one the other, making certaine signes, the Moscouites began to speake aloude, and tolde the price how they would sell their Sables, but the colde was so extreame, that they were not vnderstood, because the words before they came on the other side where this merchant of Luca was, and his interpreters, were congealed in the ayre, and there remained frozen and stopped. So that the Polakes that knew the manner, made no more adoo, but kindled a great fire in the middest of the Riuer, (for to their seeming, that was the point whereto the voyce came hote before the frost toke it) and the riuer was so thicke frozen, that it did wel beare the fire. When they had thus done, the words that for space of an houre had bene frozen, began to thaw, and come downe, making a noise, as doth the snowe frō the Mountaines in May, and so immediately they were well vnderstood: but the men on ỹ other side were first departed: and because he thought that those words asked too great a price for the Sables, hee would not bargaine, and so came away without. Then they laughed all, and M. Bernarde, Truly (quoth hee) this that I will tell you is not so subtill, yet is it a pretie matter, and this it is. Where talke was a fewe dayes ago of the Countrey or Worlde newly founde out by the Marriners

Polonia.

Moscouia.

Boristhenes.

of Portugal, and of straunge beastes and other matters brought
thence, that friend I tolde you of, affirmed that he had seene an
An Ape plaied at Chestes. Ape, very diuerse in shape from such as we are accustomed to see,
that played excellently well at Chestes. And among other times,
vpon a day before the king of Portugal, the Gentleman ỳ brought
her plaied at Chests with her, where ỳ Ape shewed some draughts
very subtill, so that she put him to his shifts, at length she gaue
To loose at Chestes vexeth men. him Checkemate. Vpon this the Gentleman being somewhat vexed (as commonly they are all that lose at that game) toke the king
in his hand, which was good and big, (as the fashion is among the
Portugalles) and reached the Ape a great knock on the head. She
forthwith leaped aside complaining greatly, and seemed to require
iustice at the Kings hands for the wrong done her. The Gentleman afterwarde called her to play with him againe, the which
with signes shee refused a while, but at last was contented to play
an other game, and as she had done the other time before, so did
she now driue him to a narrow point. In conclusion, the Ape
perceiuing she could giue the gentleman the mate, thought with
a newe deuice she would be sure to escape without any moe knocks,
and priuily cõueied her right hand without making semblant what
her intent was, vnder the gentlemans left elbowe, leaning for
pleasure vpon a little Taffata cushin, and snatching it slightly away, at one instant gaue him with her left hand a mate, with a
paune, and with her right hand cast the cushin vpon her head, to
saue her from strokes: then shee made a gamboll before the King
ioyfully, in token (as it were) of her victorie. Now see whether this
Ape were not wise, circumspect, and of good vnderstanding. Then
spake the Lord Cæsar Gonzaga: It must nedes be ỳ this Ape was
a Doctor among other Apes, and of much authoritie: and I
beleeue the common-weale of the Apes of India sent her into Portugal, to get a name in a straunge Countrey. At this euery man
laughed, both for the lye, and for the addition made to it by the L.
Cæsar. So proceeding on in his talke, M. Bernarde said: You haue
vnderstood therfore what iealts are that be of effect and communication without interruption, as much as commeth to minde: therefore it shall be well now we speake of such as consist in one saying
alone,

alone, and haue a quicke sharpnesse that lyeth briefly in a sentence or in a word. And euen as in the first kinde of merrie talke a man must in his protestation and counterfeiting, take heede that hee be not like common Jesters and Parasites, and such as with sound matters moue men to laugh, so in this briefe kinde the Courtier must be circumspect, he appeare not malicious & venemous, and speake taunts and quippies onely for spite, and to touch the quick, because such men oftentimes for offence of the tongue, are chastised in the whole body. Of those readie iestes therefore that consist in a short saying, such are most liuely that arise of doubtfulnesse, though allwayes they prouoke not laughing: for they be rather praised for wittie, than for matters of laughter. *Come pochi dì fo no disse il nostro M. Annibal Palleotto ad vno che li proponea vn magstro per insegnare Grammatica a suoi figliuogli, & poi che gliel hebbe laudato per molto dotto, venendo al salario, disse, che oltre a danari volea vna camera fornita per habitare & dormire, perche es so non hauea letto. Allhor: M. Annibal subito rispose, & come puo egli esser dotto se non ha letto?* See how well hee toke aduantage at the diuerse significatiõ of *hauer letto* (which is interpreted both to haue a bed, and to haue read.) But because those doubtfull words haue a prettie sharpnesse of witte in them, being taken in a contrarie signification to that all other men take them, it appeareth (as I haue said) that they rather prouoke a man to wonder than to laugh, except when they bee ioyned with other kindes of sayings. The kinde therefore of wittie sayings that is most vsed to make men laugh, is when wee giue eare to heare one thing, and hee that maketh answere, speaketh an other, and is alledged contrarie to expectation, and in case a doubt bee annexed therewithall, then it is verie wittie and pleasant. *Come latin' hieri disputandosi di far vn bel mattonato nel camerino della S. Ducheſſa, dopo molte parole Voi M. Io. Christoforo diceste, Se noi potessimo hauere il vescono di Potentia, & farlo ben Spianare, saria molto a proposito, perche egli e il piu bel matto nato ch'io vedessi mai. Ogn'un rise molto, perche diuidendo quella parola matto nato faceste lo ambiguo, poi discendo che Si hanesse a spianare vn vescono & metterlo per pauimento d'vn camerino*

These two examples are put in Italian because they haue no grace in the English tongue, by reason of the doubtfulnesse of the words that may be taken two sundry wayes: yet is the English as plentifull of these iests as any other tongue, wherein Syr Thomas Moore excelled in our time

Matto nato, A pauement.

Matto nato, A naturall foole.

camerino fu fuor d'opinione di chi ascoltava, così riuscì il motto arguti∫∫ime et ri∫ibile. But of doubtfull wordes there bee many sorts, therefore must a man be circumspect, and chuse out termes very artificially, and leane out such as make the ieast cold, and that a man would weene were halled by the haire, or else (as wee haue said) that haue too much bitternesse in them. As certaine companions being in a friends house of theirs, who had but one eye, after he had desired the company to tarrie dinner with him, they departed all saiuing one, that said: And I am well pleased to tarrie, for I see a voyde roome for one, and so with his finger pointed to the hole where his eye had bene. See how bitter and discourteous this is passing measure, for hee nipped him without a cause, and without being first pricked himselfe: and hee said the thing that a man might speake against blinde men. Such generall matters delight not, because it appeareth they are thought vpon of purpose. And after this sort was the saying to one without a nose: And where doest thou fasten thy spectacles? Or wherewithall doest thou smell Roses at the time of the yeare? But among other merrie sayings, they haue a very good grace, that arise when a man at the nipping talke of his fellowe, taketh the verie same wordes in the selfe same sense, & returneth them backe againe, pricking him with his owne weapon. As an Attourney in the lawe, vnto whom in the presence of the Iudge, his aduersarie said: What barkest thou? Forthwith hee answered: Because I see a thiefe. And of this sort was also, when Galeotto of Narni passing through Siena, stayed in a streete to enquire for an Inne, and a Senese seeing him so corpulent as hee was, said laughing: Other men carrie theyr Budgets behinde them, and this good fellow carrieth his before him. Galeotto answered immediately: So must men doo in the Countrey of theeues. There is yet an other sorte called in Italian *Bischizzi*, and that consisteth in chaunging or encreasing, or diminishing of a letter or sillable. As hee that said: Thou shouldest bee better learned in the Latine tongue than in the Greeke. And to you (Madame) was written in the superscription of a Letter, To the Lady *Emilia Impiam*. It is also a merrie deuice to mingle together a verse or moe,

Ieasts that are too nipping.

To nicke a man with his owne words.

Catullus answere to Phi. lippus.

To chaunge a letter or sillable.

taking

taking it in an other meaning than the Author doth, or some other common saying. Sometime in the very same meaning, but altring a word, as a Gentleman saide that had a foule and scouling wife: when he was asked the question how he did, he answered: Thinke thou thy selfe, for Furiarum maxima iuxta me cubat. And M. Hierom Donato going a visiting the Stations of Rome, in Lent, in company with many other Gentlemen, mette with a knotte of faire Romaine Ladies; and when one of these Gentlemen had saide:

Virgill.

The seuen Churches of Rome.

Quot cœlum stellas, tot habet tua Roma Puellas.

Ouid.

By and by he added:

Of Wanton dames, Rome hath like store as starres be in the skie. As many boyes serued for loue, as kiddes in pastures lie

Pascua quotque hœdos, tot habet tua Roma cinœdos.

Shewing a rout of young men that came on the other side. And Marcantonio della Torre said after this manner to the Bishop of Padoa: Where there was a Nunnerie in Padoa, under the charge of a religious person, much esteemed for his good life and learning, it happened that his Father haunting much to the Nunnerie very familiarly, and confessing often the sisters, begot fiue of them with childe, where there were not passing fiue moe in all. And when the matter was knowne, the Father would haue fledde, and wist not how. The Bishop caused him to be apprehended; and vpon that, he confessed that he had gotten those fiue Nunnes with childe, through the temptation of the diuell, so that the Bishop was fully bent to chastice him sore. And because this man was learned, he had many friends, which altogether assayed to helpe him: and among the rest, there went also M. Marcantonio, to entreate for him.

The Bishop would in no wise giue care to them. At length they being instant vpon him, and commending the guiltie, and excusing him through the commoditie of place, frailtie of man, & many other causes, the Bishop said: I will do nothing for you, because I must make account vnto God of this. And when they had replyed againe, the Bishop said: What answere shall I make vnto God at the day of iudgement, when he shall say vnto me, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ?* Maister Marcantonio answered him immediately: Marrie my Lorde, the very same that the Gospell

Yeeld an account of thy husbandrie.

Lord thou deliueredst vnto mee 5. talents, behold I haue gained 5. moe.

saith: *Domine quinque talenta tradidisti mihi, ecce alia quinque superlucratus sum.* Then could not the Bishop abstaine laughing, and he asswaged much his anger and the punishment that hee had ordained for the offender. It is likewise verie prettie to allude to names and to faine somewhat, for that hee the talke is of, is so called, or else because he doth some thing. As not long since Proto da Luca (which as you know is one merily disposed) asking the Bishoprike of Calio, the Pope answered him: doest thou not know that Calio, in the Spanish tongue, is as much to say, as I hold my peace, and thou art a great prater. Therefore it were vnfitting for a Bishop at any time, in naming his title to make a lye, now Calia, hold thy peace then. To this Proto gaue an answere, the which although it were not in this sorte, yet was it no lesse prettie then this. For after he had often put him in remembrance of this his suite, and saw it of none effect: at last hee saide, Holy Father, in case your holinesse do giue mee this Bishoprike, it shall not bee without profitte to you, for then will I surrender two offices into your handes. And what offices hast thou to surrender into my handes? quoth the Pope. Proto answered: I shall surrender vnto you, *Officium principale*, and *officium beate Marie*. Then could not the Pope, though he were a very graue person, abstaine from laughing. Another also in Padoa saide Calphurnius, was so named, because he was wont to heate furneyses. And vpon a day, when I asked Phedra how it happeneth where prayer is made in the Church vpon good friday, not only for Christians, but also for Paganes and for Iewes, there was no mention made of the Cardinals, as there was of Bishops and other prelates, He answered me, that the Cardinals were contained in the Collect, *Oremus pro hæreticis et Schismaticis*. And our Count Lewis saide, that I reprehended a Ladie of loue, for occupying a certaine kinde of lye that shined much, because when shee was trimmed therewithall, I might see my selfe in her face, and for that I was ill fauoured, I could not abide to looke vpon my selfe. In this maner was ỹ M. Camillo Paleotto said vnto M. Anthonio Porcaro, which reasoning of a cõpanion of his, that vnder confession had said vnto that Priest, that he fasted with all his hart, and

Double signification of Calio.

wept

went to Masse, and to holy service, and did all the good deeds in the worlde, saide: This fellowe, in stead of accusing, praiseth himselfe. Unto whom M. Camillo answered, nay, hee rather confesseth himselfe of these matters, because he reckoneth the doing of them great sinne. Do you not remember how wel the L. General said the last day, when Iohnthomas Galeotto wondred at one that demanded two hundred Ducates for a horse: for when Iohnthomas said that he was not worth a farthing, because among other ill properties hee had, hee coulde not abide weapons, neither was it possible to make him come nigh where hee sawe any, the Lord Generall saide (willing to reprehend him of cowardise) if the horse hath this propertie that he cannot abide weapons, I merueil he asketh not a M. Ducates. Also sometime a man speaketh the very same worde, but to another ende then the common vse is. As, when the Duke was passing ouer a very swift riuer, he said to the trumpetter: goe on. The trumpeter turned him backe, with his cap in his hand, and after a reuerent maner, sayd: It shall bee yours my Lord. It is also a pleasant maner of iesting, when a man seemeth to take the wordes, and not the meaning of him that speaketh. As this yeare a Dutch man in Rome, meeting in an euening our M. Phillip Beroaldo, whose scholer he was, said vnto him, *Domine magister, Deus det vobis bonum sero.* And Beroaldo answered incontinently, *Tibi malum cito.* And Diego de Chignognes being at a table with the Great Captaine, when another Spaniard that sate there had said, *Vino dies* (calling for wine) Diego answered him againe: *Vino, nolo conociſtes*, to nip him for a mistake. Also M. Iames Sidoleto said vnto Beroaldo, that had told him how hee would in any wise go to Bolonia: what is the cause ý maketh you thus to leaue Rome where there are so many pleasures, to go to Bolonia ful of disquietnes? Beroaldo answered: I am forced to goe to Bolonia for three Counts. And now hee had lift vp three fingers of his left hand, to alledge three causes of his going: when M. Iames sodainly interrupted him and said. The three Countes that make you goe to Bolonia, are, Count Lewis da San Bonifacio, Count Herculs Rangon, and the Count of Pepoli. Then they all laughed, because these three Counts had beene Beroaldoes Scholers, and were proper yong

Ferdinando Gonsalo.

Note here the double signification of Vino Diego tooke it not for wine, but for, God come, hee came indeede (quoth Diego meaning it by Christ) and thou knewest him not.

young men, and applyed their studie in Bolonia. This kinde of merrie iesting therefore maketh a man laugh much, because it bringeth with it other manner answeres than a man loketh for to heare; and our owne errour doth naturally delight us in these matters, which when it deceiueth us of that we loke for, we laugh at it. But the termes of speech, and figures that haue any grace and grane talke, are likewise (in a manner) alwayes comely in iestes and merrie pleasantnesse. See how wordes placed contrariwise, giue a great ornament, when a contrarie clause is sette against an other. The same manner is oftentimes very merrie and pleasant. As a Genuese that was very prodigall and lauish in his expences, being reprehended by a Usurer, who was most couetous, that said vnto him, hee: And when wilt thou leaue casting away thy substance? Then answered: When thou leauest stealing of other mens. And because (as we haue alreadie saide) from the places that we deriue iestes from, that touch a manne, wee may many times from the very same take grane sentences to praise and commend: It is a very comely and honest manner, both for the one and the other purpose, when a man consenteth to, and confirmeth the selfe-same thing that the other speaketh, but interpreteth it otherwise than hee meaneth. As within these fewe dayes a Priest of the Countrey saying Masse to his Parishioners, after hee had tolde them what holy dayes they should haue that weeke, hee beganne the generall confession in the name of all the people, and saide: I haue sinned in ill dooing, in ill speaking, in ill thinking, and the rest that followeth, making mention of all the deadly sinnes. Then a Gollippe of his, and one that was very familiar with the Priest, to sporte with him, said to the standers by: Beare recorde, Syrs, what hee confesseth with his owne mouth hee hath done, for I entend to present him to the Bishoppe for it. The verie same manner vsed Sallazza della Pedrata to honour a Lady of loue withall: With whom entring in talke, after hee had praised her, besides her vertuous qualities, for her beautie also: shee answered him, that shee deserued not that praise, because shee was now well stricken in yeares. And hee then said to her: What is in you of age,

Whereby he signified to the hearers, that Spaniard to be of the beliefe that Christ is not yet come.

Countes taken here both for respects or causes, and also for Earles.

Contrarie wordes.

To enterpret otherwise thã a man meaneth.

is

is nothing else, but to liken you vnto the Angels which were first, and are the auncientest creatures that euer God made. Also merrie sayings are much to the purpose to nippe a man, as well as graue sayings to praise one, so the metaphors bee well applyed, and especially if they bee answered, and hee that maketh answers continue in the selfe-same metapho: spoken by the other. And in this sort was answered to Maister Palla Strozzi, which banished out of Florence, and sending thither one of his about certaine affaires, said vnto him after a threatning manner: Tell Cosmus de Medicis in my name, that The hen sitteth a broode. The messenger did the errand to him, as hee was willed. And Cosmus without any more deliberation, answered him immediately: Tell M. Palla in my name againe, ỹ Hennes can ful ill sit a broode out of the nest. With a metapho: also M. Camillo Parcaro cõmended honorably ỹ Lord Marcantonio Colonna, who vnderstãding that M. Camillo in an Oration of his, had extolled certaine noble men of Italy, that were famous in martiall prowesse, and among the rest, had made most honourable mention of him, after rendring due thankes, hee saide to him: You (M. Camillo) haue done by your friendes as some Merchant-men play by their money, which finding a counterfeite Ducate, to dispatch him away, cast him into a heape of good ones, and so vtter him: Euen so you, to honour mee withall, where I am little worth, haue sette mee in company with so excellent and vertuous personages, that through their prowesse, I may peraduenture passe for a good one. Then Maister Camillo made answere: They that vse to counterfeite Ducates, guilt them, so that they seeme to the eye much better than the good: therefore if there were to be found counterfeiters of men, as there bee of Ducates, a man might haue iust cause to suspect you were false, being (as you are) of much more faire and brighter mettall than any of the rest. You may see that this place is common both for the one and the other kinde of iestes, and so are many moe; of the which a man might giue infinite examples, and especially in graue sayings. As the great Captaine saide, which (being sette at table, and euery rowme filled) sawe two Italian gentlemen standing by, that had done him very good seruice in that warre, suddenly

Palla Strozzi.

Cosmo de Medicis.

The Lorde Marcus Anthonius Columnia.

ly hée start vp, and made all the rest to arise, to giue place to those two, and saide: Make rome Sirs for these Gentlemen to sit at their meate, for had not they bene, we should not haue had now wherewithall to fede our selues. Hée saide also to Diego Garzia, that perswaded him to remoue out of a daungerous place that lay open vpon gunne-shot: Since God hath not put feare into your minde, put not you it into mine. And king Lewis, which is now French king, where it was saide vnto him sone after his creation, that then was the time to bée euen with his enemies that had done him so much iniurie while he was Duke of Orleans. He made answere: That the French king hath nothing ado to reuenge the wrongs done to the Duke of Orleans. A man toucheth also in least many times with a certaine grauitie without mouing a man to laugh. As Gein Ottomani, brother to the great Turke, when he was prisoner in Rome, he said: Iousting (as wée vsed it in Italy) séemed to him ouergreat a dalliance, and a trifle to that should be indéde. And he said, when it was tolde him that king Ferdinande the younger was nimble and quicke of person in running, leaping, vaulting, and such matters, in his Countrey flanes vsed these exercises, but great men learned from their childehood liberalitie, and were renowmed for that. And in a maner after that sort, sauing it had a litle more matter to laugh at, was that ỳ Archbishop of Florence saide vnto Cardinall Alexandrino, That men haue nothing but Substance, a body, & a soule. Their Substãce is at Lawiers disposing: their Body at Phisitions: and their Soule at Diuines. Then answered the L. Iulian: A man might adde vnto this saying of Nicholetto: which is, that it is seldom séene a lawyer to goe to lawe, nor a Phisition take medicine, nor a Diuine a good Christian. S. Bernard laughed, then he proceded: Of this there be infinite examples spoken by great Princes, and very graue men. But a man laugheth also many times at comparisons. As our Pistoia wrote vnto Seraphin: I send thée backe againe thy great male which is like thy selfe. If yée remember well, Serophin was much like a male. Againe, there be some that haue a pastime to liken men and women to horses, to dogges, to birdes, and oftentimes to coffers, to stooles, to cartes, to candlesticks,

Leuis the 12.

Gein Ottomani.

Comparisons.

dleſtickes, which ſometime hath a good grace, and otherwhile very ſtale. Therefore in this point a man muſt conſider the place, the time, the perſons, and the other things we haue ſo many times ſpoken of. Then ſpake the Lord Gaſpar Pallauicin: The compariſon ỹ the L. Iohn Gonzaga made of Alexander the great to M. Alexander his ſonne, was very pleaſant. I wotte not what it was, anſwered M. Bernard. The Lorde Gaſpar ſaid: the Lorde Iohn was playing at Dice (as his vſe is) and had loſt a number of Ducates, and was ſtill on the loſing hand, and M. Alexander his ſonne, which for all he is a childe, delighteth no leſſe in play than his father, ſtood very ſtill to beholde him, and ſeemed very ſadde. The Count of Piadella, that was there preſent with many other Gentlemen, ſaide: See (my Lorde) M. Alexander is very heauie for your loſſe, and his his heart panteth, waiting when lucke wil come to you, that he may get ſome of your winnings: therefore rid him of his griefe, and before ye loſe the reſt, giue him at leaſt one Ducate, that he may goe play him too, among his companions. Then ſaide the L. Iohn: You are deceiued, for Alexander thinketh not vpon ſuch a trifle; but as it is written of Alexander the great, while hee was a childe, vnderſtanding that Philippe his father had diſcomfited a great Armie, and conquered a certaine Kingdome, hee fell in weeping, and when hee was aſked the queſtion why hee wept, hee anſwered: Becauſe he doubted that his father would conquer ſo many Countries, that hee ſhould haue none left for him to conquer: Euen ſo now my ſonne Alexander is ſorie and readie to weepe, in ſeeing mee his father loſe, becauſe hee doubteth that I ſhall loſe ſo much, that I ſhall leaue him nothing at all to loſe. When they had a while laughed at this, M. Bernard went forward.

A man muſt take heed alſo his ieaſting be not wicked, and that the matter extend not to appeare quicke-witted, to blaſphemy, and ſtudie therein to inuent new wayes: leaſt herein, where a man deſerueth not onely blame, but alſo ſharpe puniſhment, hee ſhould appeare to ſeeke a praiſe, which is an abhominable matter. And therefore ſuch as theſe bee, that goe about to ſhewe their pregnaunt witte with ſmall reuerence to Godwarde, Blaſphemy.

deſerue

Filthy and baudy persons in talke.

deserue to bée excluded out of euerie Gentlemans companie. And no lesse, they that bée filthy and bawdie in talke, and that in the presence of women haue no manner respect, and seeme to take none other delight, but to make women blush for shame, and vpon this goe seeking out merrie and ieasting words.

As this yeare in Ferrara at a banket, in presence of many Ladies, there was a Florentine and a Senese, which for the most parte (as you saide) are enemies together. The Senese saide to nippe the Florentine: Wée haue married Siena to the Emperour, and giuen him Florence in dowrie. And this hée spake because the talke was abroade in those dayes, that the Senoys had giuen a certaine quantitie of money to the Emperour, and hée toke the protection of them vpon him. The Florentine answered immediately: But Siena shall bée first ridden (after the French phrase, but hée spake the Italian worde) and then shall the dowrie afterwarde bée pleaded for at good leisure. You may see the taunt was wittie, but because it was in the presence of women, it appeared bawdie, and not to bée spoken. Then spake the Lorde Gaspar Pallauicin: Women haue none other delight but to heare of such matters, and yet will you depriue them of it? And for my part, I haue béene readie to blush for shame at wordes which women haue spoken to mée oftner than men. And I speake not of such women as these bée, quoth Maister Bernarde, but of the vertuous that desire to be reuerenced and honoured of all Gentlemen. The Lorde Gaspar saide: It were good wée might finde out some prettie rule how to knowe them, because most commonly, the best in appearance, are cleane contrary in effect. Then said maister Bernard smiling: Were not the L. Iulia here present, that in euery place is counted the protector of women, I would take vpon mée to answere you, but I will not take his office from him. Heere the L. Emilia in like manner smiling, saide: Women néede no defender against an accuser of so small authoritie. Therefore let the Lord Gaspar alone in this his frowarde opinion, risen more because hée could neuer finde woman that was willing to looke vpon him, than for any want that is in women, and procéede you in your communication of ieasts. Then said Maister Bernard, truly Madam

dam (quoth he) me thinke I haue named vnto you many places, out of ỹ which a man may picke pleasant and wittie sayings, which afterward haue so much the more grace, as they are set forth with a comely protestation. Yet may there be alledged many other also, as when to decrease or diminish, things be spoken that vncredibly passe the likelyhood of truth. And of this sort was that Marius de Volterra saide, by a Prelate that thought himselfe so tall a person, that as hée went into Saint Peters, hée stouped, for hitting his head against the great beame ouer the porche. Also the Lady Iulian here said, that Golpino his seruant was so leane and drie, that in a morning as hée was blowing the fire to kindle it, the smake bore him vp the chimney vnto the fonnell, and had gone away with him, had he not stroke on the crosse at one of the holes aboue. And M. Augustine Beuazzano tolde, that a couetous man which would not sell his corne while it was at a high price, when hée saiwe afterward it had a great fall, for desperation hee hanged himselfe vpon a beame in his chamber, and a seruant of his hearing the noise, made spéede, and séeing his maister hang, forthwith cut asunder the rope, and so saued him from death: afterward when the couetous man came to himselfe, hée would haue hadde his seruant to haue paide him for his haulter that hée hadde cut. Of this appeareth to bée also that Laurence de Medicis said vnto a colde Ieaster: Thou shouldest not make mée to laugh if thou tickledst mée. The like hée answered vnto an other foolish person, who in a morning had founde him in bed very late, and blamed him for sleeping so much, saying vnto him: I haue now bene in the new and olde market place, afterward I went out at the gate of San Gallo, to walke about the walles, and haue done a thousand other matters, and you are yet in bed. Then said Laurence: That I haue dreamed in one houre, is more worth than all that you haue done in foure. It is also prétie when one reprehendeth a thing which a man would not thinke hée minded to reprehend. As the Marquesse Fridericke of Mantua, our Dutchesse father, being at table with many Gentlemen, one of them after he had eaten vp his dish of broath, said: By your leaue my L. Marquesse. And when hee had so said, hée began to suppe vp the rest

that

that remained in the dish. Then said the Marquesse by and by: Aske leaue of the swine, for thou doest me no wrong at all. Also M. Nicholas Leonicus said, to touch a noble man that was falsly reported to be liberall: Gesse you what liberalitie is in him, that doeth not onely giue away his owne good, but other mens also.

Dissimulation

That is in like manner an honest and comely kinde of iesting, that consisteth in a certaine dissimulation, when a man speaketh one thing, and plainly meaneth an other. I speake not of the manner that is cleane contrarie, as if one should call a Dwarfe a Gyaunt: and a black man, white: or one most ill fauourie, beautifull: because they be too open contraries, although otherwhile also they stirre a man to laugh. But when with a graue and graue speech in sporting a man speaketh pleasantly that he hath not in his minde. As when a Gentleman tolde M. Augustin Folietta a lowd lye, and earnestly did affirme it, because he thought he scarce beleeued it. At last M. Augustin said: Gentleman, if you will euer do me pleasure, bee so good to me as to quiet your selfe, in case I do not beleeue any thing you say. Yet when he replyed againe, and bound it with an oath to be true, at length he said: Since you will haue me, I am content to beleeue it for your sake: for to say the truth, I would do a greater thing for you than this commeth to. In a manner after the same sorte Don Giouanni di Cordona said of one that would forsake Rome: In mine opinion this fellowe is ill aduised, for hee is so wicked, that in abiding in Rome, it may bee his chaunce in time to be made a Cardinall. Of this sorte is also that Alphonsus Santacroce said, which a litle before hauing certaine iniuries done him by the Cardinall of Pauia, and walking without Bolonia with certaine Gentlemen, nigh vnto the place of execution, and seeing one newly hanged there, turned him that way with a certaine heauie loke, and said so loude that euery man might heare him: Thou art a happie man that hast nothing adoo with the Cardinall of *Pauia*. And the kinde of iesting that is somewhat grounded vpon scoffing, seemeth very meete for great men, because it is graue and wittie, and may be vsed both in sporting matters and also in graue. Therefore did many of olde time, and men of best estimation vse it: As Cato, Scipio

Iesting grounded vpon scoffing, meet for great men.

pio Affricanus minor. But above all, they say Socrates the Philosopher excelled in it. And in our time King Alphonsus the first of Aragon, which upon a time as he went to dinner, toke many rich Jewels from his fingers, for wetting them in washing his handes, and so gaue them to him that stode next him, as though he had not minded who it was.

This seruant had thought sure the king marked not to whom he gaue them, and because his head was busied with more waighty affaires, would sone forget them cleane, and thereof he toke the more assurance when he sawe the king asked not for them againe. And when the matter was passed certaine dayes, weekes, and moneths, without hearing any word of it, he thought surely he was safe. And so about the yeares ende after this matter had happened, an other time as the King was in like manner going to dinner, he stepped forth and put out his hand to take the kings rings. Then the king rounding him in the eare, said: The first is well for thee, these shalbe good for an other. See this taunt, how pleasant, wittie, and graue it is, and worthy in very deed for the noble courage of an Alexander. Like vnto this manner grounded vpon scoffing, there is also an other kinde, when with honest words, a man nameth a vitious matter, or a thing that deserueth blame. As the great Captaine said vnto a Gentleman of his, that after the iourney of Crignola, and when all things were alreadie in safetie, mette him as richly armed as might be, readie to fight. Then the great Captaine turning him to Don Vno di Cordona, saide: Feare ye not now any more sea-tempest, for Saint Hermus hath appeared. And with this honest word he gaue him a nick. Because you knowe Saint Hermus doeth alwayes appeare vnto Parriners after a tempest, and giueth a token of calme. And the meaning of the great Captaine was, that when this Gentleman appeared it was a signe the daunger was alreadie cleane past. Again, M. Octauian Vbaldino being in Florence in company with certaine of the best Citizens, and reasoning together of Souldiers, one of them asked him whether he knew Antonello da Forli which was then fled out of the state of Florence. M. Octauian answered: I haue no great knowledge of him, but I haue heard

To name an ill thing with honest words.

Frumpes.

heard him alwayes reported to be a quicke souldier. Then saide an other Florentine: It appeareth he is quicke, for he tarried not so long as to aske leaue to depart. They be also prettie tauntes when a man of the very communication of his fellowe taketh that hée would not, and my meaning is in that sorte, as our Duke answered the Captaine that lost Saint Leo. When this state was taken by Pope Alevander, and giuē to Duke Valentin, the Duke being in Venice at ỳ time I speake of, many of his subiects came continually to giue him secret information how the matters of state passed; and among the rest, thither came also this Captaine: which after hée had excused himselfe the best hée could, laying the fault in his vnluckinesse, hée said: My Lorde, doubt yée not, my heart serueth me yet to worke a meane that Saint Leo may be recouered againe. Then answered the Duke: Trouble not thy selfe any more about it, for in losing it thou hast wrought a meane that it may be recouered againe. Certaine other sayings there are, whē a man that is knowne to be wittie, speaketh a matter that seemeth to proceede of folly. As the last day M. Camillo Poletto said by one: that sole, as sone as hée began to waxe rich, dyed.

Pope Alexander vsurped ỳ dukedome of Vrban, & gaue it to his sonne Cæsar Borgia, commonly called Duca Valentino.

There is like vnto this matter, a certaine wittie and kinde dissimulation, when a man (as I haue said) that is wise, maketh semblant not to vnderstand that he doeth vnderstand. As the Marquesse Fridericke of Mantua, which being sued to by a prating fellowe that complained vpon a certaine of his neighbours, taking the Pigeons of his Doue-house with snares, and held one continually in his hand hanging by the foote in a snare, which hée had found so dead, hée answered him, that there would bée a remedie for it. This fellow neuer satisfied, not once, but many a time repeated vnto him his losse, shewing alwaies the Pigeon so hanged, and said still: But I beseech you, how think you (my lord) what should a man do in this matter? The Marquesse at length said: By mine aduise, the pigeon ought in no wise to be buried in the Church, for since he hath so hanged himselfe, it is to be thought ỳ he was desperate. In a maner after the same sort was ỳ Scipio Nasica said vnto Ennius. For when Scipio went vnto Ennius house to speake with him, and called to him in the streete, a maiden of his made him answere,

Dissimulation

swere that He was not at home. And Scipio heard plainly Ennius himselfe say vnto his maiden, to tell him that he was not at home, so he departed. Within a while after, Ennius came vnto Scipios house, and so likewise stood beneathe, and called him. Vnto whome Scipio himselfe with a loude voyce made answere, that He was not at home. Then said Ennius: What do I not knowe thy voyce? Scipio answered: Thou hast small curtesie in thē, the last day I beleeued thy maiden, that thou wast not at home, and now wilt not thou beleeue mee my selfe? It is also pretie when one is touched in the very same matter that hee hath first touched his fellowe. As Alonso Garillo being in the Spanish Court, and hauing committed certaine youthfull parts, that were of no great importance, was by the kings commaundement carried to prison, and there abode for one night. The next day he was taken out againe, and when hee came to the Pallace in the morning, he entred into the chamber of presence, that was full of Gentlemen and Ladies; and iesting together at this his imprisonment, mistresse Boadilla saide: M. Alonso, I toke great thought for this mishap of yours: for all that knew you, were in feare least the king would haue hanged you. Then said immediately Alonso: Indeed Mistresse, I was in doubt of ỹ matter my selfe tw, but yet I had a good hope that you would haue begged me for your husband. See how sharpe and wittie this is. Because in Spaine (as in many other places also) the manner is, when a man is ledde to execution, if a common harlot will aske him for her husbande, it saueth his life. In this manner also Raphaell the painter answered two Cardinalls (with whome hee might bee familiar) which to make him talke, founde fault in his hearing with a table he had made, where Saint Peter and Saint Paul were, saying: that those two pictures were tw redde in the face. Then said Raphaell by and by: My Lordes, wonder you not at it, for I haue made thē so for the nonce, because it is to be thought, that Saint Peter and Saint Paul are euen as redde in Heauen as you see them here, for very shame that their Church is gouerned by such men as you bee. Also those iestes are pleasant, that haue in them a certaine priuie semblant of laughter. As when a Husbande lamented much, and bewailed his Wife

To touch in the same matter a man is touched.

The manner of Spaine.

A semblant of laughing.

that had hanged her selfe vpon a fig-tree, an other came to him and plucking him by the sleeue, saide: Friend, may I receiue such pleasure, as to haue a grafte of that figge-tree to graffe in some stocke of mine Orchard? There be certaine of other Jeastes that bee patient and spoken softly with a kinde of grauitie. As a man of the Countrey, carrying a coffer vpon his shoulders, chaunced therewithall to giue Cato a hard push, and afterward saide: Giue roome. Cato answered: Hast thou any thing vpon thy shoulders beside that coffer? It is also matter of laughter when a man hath committed an errour, and to amend it, speaketh a matter purposely that appeareth foolish, and yet is applyed to the ende that he hath appointed, and serueth his turne therewithall, that he seeme not out of countenance, and dismayed. As not long since two enemies being together in the councell-chamber of Florence, (as it happened often in those Common-weales) the one of them which was of the house of Altouiti, slept, and he that satte next vnto him for a sporte, where his aduersary that was of the house of Alamanni, had said nothing neither then nor before, stirring him with his elbowe, made him awake, and saide vnto him: Hearest thou not what such a one saith? Make answere, for the Lordes aske for thine aduise. Then did Altouiti all sleepie arise vpon his feete, and without any more deliberation, saide: My Lordes, I say the cleane contrarie to that Alamanni hath spoken.

With a certaine grauitie.

A matter that seemeth foolish.

Altouiti.

Alamanni.

Alamanni answered, what? I haue said nothing. Altouiti saide immediately: To that thou wilt speake. In this maner also did your M. Seraphin the Phisition here in Vrbin, say vnto a man of the Countrey, which had receiued such a stroke vpon the eye, that in very deede it was out, yet thought hee best to goe seeke to M. Seraphin for remedie. When hee sawe it, though he knewe it was past cure, yet to plucke money out of his handes, as that blowe had plucked the eye out of his head, he promised him largely to heale it. And so hee was in hand with him euery day for money, putting him in comfort, that within fiue or seuen dayes, hee should begin to see with it againe.

The poore countrey man gaue him the little he had, but when he sawe him so prolong the matter, hee beganne to finde himselfe agrieued

agrieued with the Phisition, and saide, that hée was nothing the better, neither could he see any more with that eye, than if hée had had none at all in his head. At length M. Seraphin perceiuing there was no more to be gotten at his handes, saide: Brother mine, thou must haue patience, thou hast cleane lost thine eye, and no remedie is there for it, pray God thou lose not thine other withall.

The countrey man seeing this, fell in weeping, and lamented much, and said: Maister mine, you haue pilled me, and robbed me of my money, I will complaine to the Duke; and made the greatest outcries in the worlde. Then said M. Seraphin in a rage, and to cleare himselfe: Ah thou villaine knaue, thou wouldest then haue two eyes, as Citizens and honest men haue, wouldest thou? Get thée hence in the diuels name. And those words were thrust out with such furie, that the poore silly man was dismayed, and held his peace, and soft and faire departed in Gods name, thinking that he himselfe had bene in the wrong.

It is also pretie when a man declareth or interpreteth a matter merrily. As in the Spanish Court in a morning there came into the pallace a knight who was very ill fauoured, and his wife, that was very beautifull, both apparelled in white Damaske, & the Quéene saide vnto Alonso Carillo: How thinke ye Alonso by these two? Madam, answered Alonso, me thinke the Lady is the Dame, and he the Aske, which signifieth a foule person and vglysome. To interpret a matter merrily. Dame Aske.

Also when Raphael de Pazzi sawe a Letter that the Priour of Messina had written to a Mistresse of his, the superscriptō whereof was: *Esta carta sha dar a quien causa mi penar*, me thinke (quoth he) this Letter is directed to Paul Tholosse. Imagine you how the standers by laughed at it: for they all knew how Paul Tholosse had lent tenne thousande Ducates to the Priour of Messina, and because hée was very lauish in his expences, hée could finde no way to pay his debt. It is like vnto this, when a man giueth familiar admonition in manner of counsell but dissemblingly. As Cosmus de Medicis said vnto a friend of his, that had more riches than witte, and by Cosmus meanes had compassed an office with- This Letter be giuen to the cause of my griefe. Familiar admonition in maner of counsell.

out of Florence, & at his setting forth, asking Cosmus what way he thought best for him to take, to execute this office well: Cosmus answered him: Apparell thy selfe in scarlet, and speake little. Of this sort was that Counte Lewis saide vnto one that would passe for an vnknowne person in a certaine daungerous place, and wist not how to disguise himselfe, and the Counte being demaunded of his aduice therein, answered: Apparell thy selfe like a Doctor, or in some other rayment that wise men vse to weare. Also Iannotto de Pazzi saide vnto one that minded to make an arming coate of as many diuers colours as might be inuented: Take the words and deeds of the Cardinall of Pauie. A man laugheth also at certaine matters disagreeing. As ona said the last day vnto M. Antony Rizzo, of a certain Forliuese: Gesse whether he be a fole or no, for his name is Bartholomew. And an other: Thou seekest a rider, and hast no horses And this man wanteth nothing but good and a horse. And at certaine other that seme to agree. As within these fewe dayes where there was a suspition that a friend of ours had caused a false aduouision of a benefice to be drawne out, afterwarde when an other Priest fell sicke, Antony Torello said vnto him: What dost thou linger the matter? why dost thou not sende for thy Clarke, and see whether thou canst hit vpon this other benefice? Likewise at certaine that do not agree. As the last day when the Pope had sent for M. Iohnluke of Pontremolo, and M. Dominick dalla Porta, which (as you know) are both crookebacked, and made them Auditors, saying, that he entended to bring the Rota into a right frame. M. Latin Iuuinal said: Our holy Father is deceiued, if he thinke ỹ he can bring the Rota into a right frame with two crooked persons. Also it prouoketh laughter, when a man graunteth the thing that is tolde him, and more, but semeth to vnderstand it otherwise. As Captaine Beralta being brought into the lists to fight the combat with Aldana and captaine Molart, that was Aldanas patron, required Peralta to sweare, whether he had about him any S. Iohns Gospell, or charme and inchauntment, to preserue him from hurt. Peralta swore that he had about him neither Gospell, nor Inchauntment, nor Relike, nor any matter of deuotion, wherein hee hadde any faith. Then said Molart, I touch

Matters disagreeing.

That seeme to agree.

That agree not.

The Rota in Rome, is such an other matter as the Court of the Arches in England.

touch him to be a marrane: Well, no moe wordes in this, for I beléeue without swearing that you haue no faith also in Christ. It is pretie moreouer, to vse metaphors at a time in such purposes. As our M. Marcantonio that saide to Botton da Cesena, who had vexed him with wordes: Botton, Botton, thou shalt one day be the botton, and the baulter shal bée the bottonhole. And also whē Marcantonio had made a Comedie which was very long, and of sundrie actes, the very same Botton said in like manner to Marcantonio: to play your Comedie yée shall néede for preparation as much wood as is in Sclauonia. M. Marcantonio answered: And for preparation of the Tragedie three trées is inough. Againe, a man speaketh a worde many times wherein is a priuie signification far from that appeareth he would say. As the L. Generall here being in company where there was a communication of a Captaine, that indéede all his life time for ẏ more part had receiued the ouerthrowe, & as then by chaunce woon the victorie: and when hée that ministred this talke saide: When he made his entrie into that Towne, he was apparelled in a very faire crimson veluet coate, which he wore alwaies after his victories. The L. Generall saide, Belike it is very new. And no lesse doth it prouoke laughter, when a man otherwhile maketh answere vnto that which the other hée talketh withall hath not spoken: or else séemeth to beléeue hée hath done that he hath not done, & should haue done it. As Andrew Cosia, when he went to visit a gentleman ẏ discourteously suffred him to stand on his féete, and he himselfe satte, saide: Since you commaund me sir, to obey you, I will sit, and so sat him downe. Also a man laugheth when one accuseth himselfe of some trespasse. As the last day when I saide to the Dukes Chaplaine, that my Lordes grace had a Chaplaine that could say Masse sooner than hée: He answered me, it is not possible. And rounding me in ẏ eare, said: You shall vnderstand that I say not the third part of ẏ secrets. Also Biagin Criuello, whē a priest was slaine at Millane, he required his benefice of the Duke, the which he was minded to bestow vpon an other. At length Biagin perceiuing no other reason would preuaile, and what (quoth he) if I were the cause of his death, why will you not giue me his benefice? It hath also many times a

Metaphors.

An answere to that a mā hath not said.

To wish that cannot be.

good grace to wish those things that cannot bée. As the last day one of our companie beholding all these Gentlemen here playing at fence, and hée lying vpon a bed, saide: O what a pleasure it were, were this also a valiant mans, and a good souldiers exercise. In like manner it is a pretie and wittie kinde of speaking,

A contrary answere.

and especially in graue men and of authoritie, to answere contrarie to that he would, with whom he speaketh but dayly, and (as it were) with a certaine doubting and heedefull consideration. As in times past Alphonsus the first king of Aragon, giuing vnto a seruant of his, horse, harneis, and apparell, because he tolde him how the night before he had dreamed that his highnesse had giuen him all those kinde of matters, and not long after, the verie same seruant saide againe, how he dreamed that night, that he had giuen him a good sort of royalles. He answered him: Hencesforth beléeue dreames no more, for they are not alwayes true. In this sort also did the Pope answere the Bishop of Cerula, that to grope his minde, saide vnto him: Holy father, it is noysed all Rome ouer, and in the pallace too, that your holynesse maketh mée Gouernour. Then answered the Pope: Let the knaues speake what they list, doubt you not, it is not true I warrant you. I could (my Lordes) beside these, gather many other places, from which a man may deriue merrie and pleasant Jeastes, as matters spoken with feare, with maruell, with threatnings out of order, with ouermuch furiousnesse. Beside this, certaine newly happened cases prouoke laughter: sometime silence with a certaine wonder: at other times very laughter it selfe, without purpose. But me thinke I haue now spoken sufficient: for the Jeastes that consist in wordes (I beléeue) passe not these boundes wée haue reasoned of. As for such as be in operation, though there bée infinite partes of them, yet are they drawne into fewe principles. But in both kindes the chiefe matter is to deceiue opinion, and to answere otherwise than the hearer loketh for: and (in case the Jeast shall haue any grace) it must néedes be seasoned with this deceit, or dissimulation, or mocking, or rebuking, or comparison, or what-

Diuers effects in Ieastes.

euer other kinde a man will vse. And although all kinde of Jeastes moue a man to laugh, yet do they also in this laughter make di-

ners

ners effectes. For some haue in them a certaine cleanenesse and modest pleasantnesse. Other bite sometime priuily, otherwhile openly. Other haue in them a certaine wantonnesse. Other make one laugh as soone as he heareth them. Other, the more a man thinketh vpon them. Other in laughing make a man blush withall. Other stirre a man somewhat to anger. But in all kindes a man must consider the disposition of the mindes of the hearers, because vnto persons in aduersitie, oftentimes merrie toyes augment their affliction: and some infirmities there be, that the more a man occupieth medicine about them, tho worse they ware. In case therefore the Courtier in ieasting and speaking merrie conceits, haue a respect to the time, to the persons, to his degree, and not vse it too often, (for pardie it bringeth a loathsomnesse if a man stand euermore about it, all day in all kind of talke, & without purpose) he may be called pleasant and feat conceited. So hee be heedefull also that hee be not so bitter and biting, that a man might coniecture hee were an enuious person in pricking without a cause, or for plaine malice, or men of too great authoritie (which is lacke of discretion) or of too much miserie (which is crueltie) or too mischieuous (which is vanitie) or else in speaking matters that may offende them whome hee would not offende (which is ignorance.) For some there bee that thinke they are bounde to speake and to nip without regard, as often as they can, how euer the matter goe afterward. And among these kinde of persons are they, that to speake a worde which should seeme to come of a readinesse of witte, passe not for staining of a worthy Gentlewomans honestie, which is a very naughtie matter, and worthy sore punishment. Because in this point women are in the number of silly soules, and persons in miserie, and therefore deserue not to be nipped in it, for they haue not weapons to defend themselues. But beside these respects, hee that will bee pleasant and full of ieasting, must bee shaped of a certaine nature apt to all kinde of pleasantnesse, and vnto that frame his fashions, gestures, and countenance, the which the more graue, steadie, and set it is, so much the more maketh it ẏ matters spoken to seeme wittie and subtil. But you (sir Friderick) that thought to rest your self vn-

The small respect some haue in iesting.

A pahockes Inne.

der this my tree without leaues, & in my withered reasonings, I beleeue you haue repented your self, and you reckon ye are entred into a baiting place of Monteffiore. Therefore it shall be wel done for you like a well practised Courtier (to auoyd an ill hosterie) to arise somewhat before your ordinarie houre, and set forwarde on your iourney. Nay, answered Sir Fridericke, I am come to so good an hosterie, that I minde to tarrie longer in it, than I had thought at the first. Therefore I will rest me yet a while, vntill you haue made an ende of all the talke you haue begunne withall. Whereof ye haue left out one parcell that ye named at the beginning: which is Merrie prankes, and it were not well done to deceiue the company of it. But as you haue taught vs many prettie matters concerning Ieastes, and made vs hardie to ble them through example of so many singular wittes, great men, Princes, kings, and Popes, I suppose ye will likewise in Merrie prankes so bouldē vs, that we may take a courage to practise some against your selfe. Then saide S. Bernardo smiling: You shall not be the first, but perhappes it will not be your chaunce, for I haue so many times bin serued with them, that it maketh me loke well about me: As dogges, after they haue bin once scalded with hotte water, are afraide of the colde. Howbeit, since you will haue me to speake somewhat of this to, I beleeue I may ridde my handes of it in fewe wordes. And in mine opinion a Merry pranke is nothing else, but a friendly deceit in matters that offends not at all, or very litle. And euen as in Ieasting to speake contrary to expectatiō moueth laughter, so doeth it in Merrie prankes to do contrary to expectation. And these do so much the more delight and are to be praised, as they be wittie and modest. For he that will worke a Merrie pranke without respect, doth many times offend, and then arise debates and fore hatred. But the places that a man may derive Merrie prankes from, are (in a manner) the very same that be in Ieastes. Therefore to auoyde repetition of them, I will say no more but that there be two kinds of Merry prankes, euery one of which may afterward be deuided into moe parts. The one is, when any man whosoeuer he be, is deceiued wittily, and after a feate manner, and with pleasantnesse. The

What is a merry pranke.

other,

other, when a man layeth (as it were) a nette, and sheweth a peece of a bayte so, that a man runneth to bee deceiued of himselfe. The first is such, as the Merry prancke was, that within these fewe daies was wrought vnto a couple of great Ladies (whō I will not name) by the meane of a Spaniard called Castilio. The Duchesse, why (quoth she) will you not name them? M. Bernarde answered: Because I would not haue them to take it in ill part. Then said the Duchesse againe, smiling: It is not against good maner, sometime to vse Mery pranckes, with great men also. And I haue heard of many that haue bene played to Duke Fridericke, to King Alphonsus of Aragon, to Queene Isabel of Spaine, and to many other great Princes, and not only they toke it not in ill part, but rewarded very largely them that played them thase partes. M. Bernarde answered: neither vpon this hope doe I entend to name them. Say as pleaseth you, quoth the Duchesse. Then proceeded M. Bernarde, and said: Not many dayes since, in the Court, that I meane, there arriued a man of the Countrey, about Bergamo, to bee in seruice with a Gentlemā of the Court which was so well set out with garmentes, and so finely clad, that for all his bringing vppe, was alwayes in keeping Oxen, and could doe nothing else, yet a man that had not hearde him speake, would haue iudged him a worthie Gentleman. And so when those two Ladies were enformed that there was arriued a Spaniarde, seruant to Cardinall Borgia, whose name was Castilio, a very wittie man, a Musition, a Dauncer, and the best Courtier in all Spayne: They longed very much to speake with him, and sent incontinently for him: and after they had receiued him honourably, they caused him to sit downe, and began to entertaine him with a verie great respect in the presence of all men, and fewe there were present, that knewe him not to bee Bergamaske Cowheard. Therefore seeing those Ladies entertaine him with such respect, and honour him so much, they fell all in a laughing the more, because the selfe fellowe spake still his native language, the mere Bergamaske tongue. But the gentleman that deuised this Prancke, had first tolde the Ladies, that among other thinges, hee was a great dissembler, and spake all tongues excellently

The worst speech in all Italy.

excellently well, and especially Counterfeyth of Lumbarde, so that they thought he faigned, and many times they beheld the one the other, with certaine meruellinges, and sayde: What a wonderfull matter is this, how hee counterfaiteth this tongue? In conclusion, this communication lasted so long, that euery mans eies aked with laughing, and he could not chuse himselfe but vtter so many tokens of his noblenesse of birth, that at length those Ladies (but with much a doo) beleeued hee was the man that hee was indeede.

When a man is afraid of nothing.

Such Mery prancks woste daily, but among the rest, they bee pleasant, that at the first make a man agast, and after that ende in a matter of surety, because he that was deceiued laugheth at himselfe when he perceiueth he was afeard of nothing. As lying vpon a time in Paglia, there chaunced to be in the verie same Inne three other good fellowes, two of Pistoia, and one of Prato, which after supper (as the maner is for the most part) fell to gawning. And not long after, one of the Pistoiens losing his rest, had not a farthing left him to bestow himselfe, but began to chafe, to curse, and to ban, and to blaspheme terribly, and thus tearing of God he wet to bed. The other two, after they had played a while, agreed to worke a Mery prancke with him that was gone to bed. And when they perceiued that he was fallen in sleepe, they blew out the candles, and raked vp the fire, and began to speake aloude, and to make the greatest hurly burly in the world, making wise to contend together about their game. The one said: Thou tookest the carde vnderneath. The other denying it, sayd: Thou hast vied vpon flush, let vs mount: and such other matters, with such noise that he that slept, did awake, and hearing them at play, and talking euen as though they had seene the cardes, did a little open his eies: when he saw there was no maner of light in the chamber, he said: what a diuell meane you to crie thus all night? Afterward hee layde him downe againe to sleepe. The other two companions gaue him no maner of answere: but still continued in their purpose, vntill hee awaked better, and much wondred, and when hee sawe for certaintie that there was neither fire, nor any kinde of light, and perceiued they played still, and fell in contention, hee sayde: And howe

Paglia is a little village in the vtmost bounds of the territory of Siena.

can

can you sée the cardes without light? The one of ỹ two answered: I wéene thou hast lost thy sight as well as thy money. Seest thou not that we haue here two candles? He that was in bed lift vp himselfe vpon his elbowes, and in a maner angred, said: Either I am dronken or blinde, or else you make a lye. The two arose and went to bedde darkeling, laughing and making wise to beléeue that hée went about to mocke them. And hée againe saide to them: I tell you troath I sée you not. At length the two beganne to séeme to wonder much, and the one saide to the other: By good Lorde, I beléeue he speaketh in good earnest, reach mée the candle, and let vs sée least perhappes he haue some impediment in his sight. Then thought the poore wretch surely that hée had bene blinde, and weeping downeright, saide: Oh Sirs, I am blinde, and forthwith he began to call vpon our Lady of Loreto, and to beséech her to pardon him his blasphemies and cursings for ỹ losse of his money. But his two companions put him in good comfort, and saide: It is not possible but thou shouldest sée vs. It is some fansie that thou hast conceiued in thine head. Oh good Lorde answered the other, it is no fansie, nor I sée no more, than if I had neuer had eyes in my head. Thy sight is cleare inough, quoth the two. And the one saide to the other: Marke how well he openeth his eyes, and how faire they hée to loke to. And who would beléeue but he could sée? The poore soule wept faster, & cried God mercie. In conclusion they saide vnto him: Sée thou make a vow to go deuoutly to our Lady of Loreto, barefote and bareleged, for that is the best remedie that may be had. And in the meane space we will goe to Aquapendente and the other townes here about, to séeke for some Phisition, and will helpe thée in what we can. Then did the silly soule kneele vpon his knées in the bedde, and with abundance of teares, and very bitter repentance for his blaspheming, made a solemne vowe to goe naked to our Lady of Loreto, and to offer vnto her a paire of eyes of siluer, and to eate no flesh vpon the Wednesday, nor egges vpon the Friday, & to fast with breade & water euery Saterday, in worship of our Lady, if she giue him the grace to receiue his sight againe. The two companions entring into an other Chamber, lighted a can-

The greatest pilgrimage in Italy.

Aquapendéte is a towne of the Popes, 12. miles from Paglia.

a candle, and came with the greatest laughter in the worlde before this poore soule, who for all he was rid of so great an anguish as you may thinke he had, yet was he so astonied with his former feare, that he could not onely not laugh, but not once speake a word, and the two companions did nothing else but stirre him, saying, that hee was bounde to performe all those vowes, for that he had receiued the grace he asked. Of the other kinde of Merrie prankes when a man deceiueth himselfe, I will giue you none other example, but what happened vnto me my selfe not long since. For this Shrouetide that is past, my Lordes grace of Saint Peter ad Vincula, which knoweth full well what a delight I haue when I am in a maskerie, to play Merrie prankes with Friars, hauing first giuen order as hee had deuised the matter, came vpon a day with my L. of Aragon and certaine other Cardinalles, to the windowes in the bankes, making wise to stand there to see Paskers passe to and fro, as the manner of Rome is. I being in maskerie passed by, and when I beholde on the one side of the streete a Friar standing (as it were) in a studie with himselfe, I iudged I had found that I sought for, and forthwith ranne to him, like a greedie hauke to her pray, and when I had asked him, and he tolde me who he was, I made semblant to know him, and with many wordes began to make him beleeue that the Marshall went about to seeke him, for certaine complaintes against him, and perswaded him to goe with mee to the Chaumcerie, and there I would saue him. The Friar dismayed, and all trembling, seemed as though hee will not what to do, and saide that hee doubted taking, in case he should goe far from Saint Celso. Still I put him in good comfort, and saide so much to him, that hee leaped vp behinde me, and then me thought my deuice was fully accomplished. And I began by and by to ride my horse vp and downe the Perchaunces streete, which went kicking and winching. Imagine with your selues now what a faire sight it was to beholde a Friar on horsebacke behinde a Maske, his garments flieing abroad, and his head shaking to and fro, that a man would haue thought he had bene alreadie falling. With this faire sight, the Gentlemen began to hurle egges out at the windowes, and afterwarde all

When a man deceiueth himselfe.

all bankers, and as many as were there, so that the haile never fell with a more violence from the Skie, than there fell egges out from the Windowes, which for the most part came all vppon mée. And I, for that I was in mas kerie, passed not vppon the matter, and thought verily that all the laughing had bene for the Friar, and not for mée, and vpon this, went sundrie times vp and downe the bankes, alwaies with that fury of hell behinde me. And though the Friar (in maner) weeping, besought me to let him goe downe, and not to shewe such shame to the weede, yet did the knaue afterward priuily cause egges to be giuen him by certaine Lackeyes, set there for the nonce, and making wise to gripe me hard for falling, squized them in my bosome, and many times on my head, and otherwhile on my forehead, so that I was foule araied. Finally, when euery man was wearie both of laughing & throwing egges, hée leaped downe from behinde mée, and plucking his hood backwarde, shewed mée a great bush of haire, and said: M. Bernard, I am a horsekéeper in the stable of Saint Peter ad Vincula, and am hée that loketh to your Mulet. Then wist I not which preuailed most in mée, griefe, anger, or shame. Yet for the lesse hurt, I fledde toward my lodging, and the next morning I durst not shewe my head abroade. But the laughing at that merrie prancke, did not endure the day following onely, but also lasteth (in a manner) vntill this day. And so when they had a while renued the laughing at rehearsing this againe, M. Bernard proceéded. It is also a good and pleasant kinde of merrie prankes, from whence in like maner ieastes are deriued, when one beléeueth that a man will doo a matter which hée will not indéede. As when I was in an euening after supper vpō the bridge of Leo, and going togither with Cæsar Boccadello, sporting one with an other, we began to take hold fast the one of the others armes, as though wée would haue wrastled, because then we perceiued no man about the bridge: and béeing in this maner togither, there came two French men by, which séeing vs thus striuing, demaunded what the matter meant, and prayed to part vs, thinking we had bene at debate in good earnest. Then said I incontinently: Helpe sirs, for this poore Gentleman at certaine times of the Moone is frantike, and sée now how he striueth

To faigne the doing of a matter.

to

to cast himself off the bridge into the riuer. Then did the two run and laide hand vpon Cæsar with me, and helde him straight. And hée (saying alwayes that I was out of my wit) strugled the more to wind himselfe out of their hands, & they griped him so much the harder. At this the people assembled to beholde our rushing together, and euery man ranne, and the more pore Cæsar laide about him with his handes and féete (for he beganne now to enter into choller) the more resort of the people there was, & for the great strength he put, they beléeued verily that he would haue leaped into the riuer, & therefore helde they him the straighter, so that a great throng of people carried him to the Inne aboue ground, all turmoiled, and without his cappe, pale for wrath and shame, that nothing he spake could preuaile, partly because those French men vnderstood him not, and partly because I also carrying him to the Inne, did alwaies bewaile the pore soules ill lucke, that was so wered out of his wit. Now (as we haue saide) of merrie prankes a man may talke at large, but it sufficeth to repeate that the places whence they are derined, be the very same which wée haue saide of Iestes. As for examples, we haue infinit which we sée daily, and among the rest, there are many pleasant in the tales of Boccaccio, as those that Cruno & Buffalmacco plaied to their Calãdrino, and to M. Symon: and many other of women, which in very déede are wittie & pretie. I remember also I haue knowne in my daies many that haue bene merrily disposed in this maner, and among the rest a scholler in Padoa, borne in Sicilia, called Pontius, which séeing vpon a time a man of the country haue a couple of fat capons, fayning himself to buy them, was at a point with him for the price, and bid him come with him to his lodging, for beside his price hée would giue him somewhat to breake his fast withall: and so brought him to a place where was a steeple that stood by himselfe alone, severed from the Church, that a man might go round about him, and directly ouer against one of the foure sides of the steeple was a lane. Here Pontius, when hée had first bethought himselfe what he had to do, said vnto the man of the countrey: I haue laide these Capons on a wager with a fellowe of mine, who saieth that this tower compasseth 40. foote, & I say no, & euen as I met with thée,

Giornat. 8. Nouell. 3. Nouell. 5. Nouell. 6. Nouell. 9. Giornat. 9. Nouell 3. Nouell 5.

Pontius a scholler of Padoa.

thée, I had bought this packthꝛæd to meaſure it, therefoꝛe befoꝛe we goe to my lodging, I will trie which of vs hath won the wager. And in ſo ſaying, he dꝛew the packthꝛæd out of his ſléeue, and put the one ende of it into the man of the Countries hande, and ſaid: giue here, and ſo toke the Capons, and with the other ende he began to go about the bel-tower, as though he would haue meaſuꝛed it, making fiꝛſt the man of the Countrey to ſtand ſtill, and to holde the packthꝛæd directly on the contrarie ſide of the tower to that, that was at the head of the lane, where as ſone as he came, he dꝛaue a naile into the wall, to the which he tied the packthꝛæd, and leauing it ſo, went his waies without any moꝛe adoe downe the lane with the Capons. The man of the Countrey ſtood ſtill a good while, alwayes loking when he would haue done meaſuring. At length after he had ſaid many times, what do you ſo long? hée thought he would ſée, and founde that Pontius helde not the line, but a naile that was dꝛiuen into the Wall, which onely remained foꝛ payment of his Capons. Of this ſoꝛte Pontius played many merrie pꝛankes. And there haue bin alſo many other pleaſant men in this maner, as Gonella Meliolo in thoſe daies, & now our Fꝛiar Seraphin & Friar Marian here, & many wel knowne to you all. And in very dœde this kinde is to be pꝛaiſed in men that make pꝛofeſſion of nothing elſe. But the merry pꝛankes that the Courtier ought to vſe, muſt (by mine aduiſe) bée ſomewhat wide from immoderate ieaſting. He ought alſo to take hœde that his merrie pꝛankes turne not to pilfering, as we ſée many naughtipackes, that wander about the woꝛlde with diuers ſhiftes to get money, faining now one matter, now an other. And ỹ they be not yet bitter, and aboue all, that he haue reſpect & reuerence, as well in this, as in all other things, to women, and eſpecially where the ſtayning of their honeſtie ſhal cõſiſt. Than ỹ L. Gaſpar, troly M. Bernard (quoth he) you are too partiall to theſe women. And why will you, that men ſhould haue moꝛe reſpect to women, then women to men? Set not you as much by your honeſtie, as they do by theirs? Thinke you then that women ought to nip men both with woꝛds and mockes in euery matter without any regard, and men ſhould ſtand with a flea in their eare, and thanke them foꝛ it?

Pilfering.

Reuerence to women.

M. Bernard

M. Bernard answered: I say not the contrary, but women in their ieasts and merrie prankes, ought to haue the respects to mē which we haue spoken of. Yet I say, with more libertie may they touch men of small honestie, than men may them. And that because wee our selues haue established for a lawe, that in vs wanton life is no vice, nor default, nor any slaunder, and in women it is so great a reproach and shame, that shee that hath once an ill name, whether the report that goeth of her be true or false, hath lost her credit for euer. Therefore since the talking of womens honestie is so daungerous a matter to offend them sore, I say that wee ought to touch them in other matters, and refraine from this. For when the ieast or merrie pranke nippeth too sore, it goeth out of the bounds which wee haue alreadie saide is fit for a Gentleman. Here M. Bernarde making a little stoppe, the L. Octauian Fregola said smiling: My
Women. Lord Gaspar can make you an answere to this lawe, which you alledge that wee our selues haue made, that it is not perchaunce so out of reason, as you thinke. For since women are most vnperfite creatures, and of little or no worthinesse in respect of men, it behoued for that they were not apt to worke any vertuous deed of themselues, that they should haue a bridle put vpon them with shame and feare of infamie, that should (in maner) by force bring into them some good condition. And continencie was thought
Continencie. more necessarie in them than any other, to haue assurance of children; so that very force hath driuen them with all inuentions, policies, and wayes possible, to make women continent, and (in maner) graunted them in all things beside to bee of small worthinesse, and to do the cleane contrarie alwayes to that they ought to do. Therefore since it is lawfull for them to swarue out of the way in all other things without blame, if wee should touch them in those defaultes, wherein (as wee haue saide) they are to be borne withall, and therefore are not vnseemely in them, and passe full little vpon it, we should neuer mone laughter. For you haue alreadie said, that Laughter is prouoked with certaine things that are disagreeing. Then spake the Dutchesse: Speake you (my Lord Octauian) of women thus, and then complaine that they loue you not? The Lorde Octauian answered: I complaine not of it, but rather I thanke

thanke them for it, since in not loving of me, they binde not me to loue them. Neither do I speake after mine own opinion, but I say that the L. Gaspar might alledge these reasons. M. Bernarde said: Truly women should make a good bargaine, if they could make attonements with such two great enemies as you and the L. Gaspar be. I am not their enemie answered the L. Gaspar, but you are an enemie to men. For in case you will not haue women touched in this honestie of theirs, you ought as well to appoint them a lawe not to touch men, in that which is as much shame to vs, as incontinencie to women. And why was it not as méete for Alonso Carillo to make the answer which he gaue to mistresse Boadilla of the hope that he had to saue his life, in that she would take him to husband, as it was for her to say first: All that knew him, thought the king would haue hanged him? And why was it not as lawful for Richard Minutoli to beguile Philippellos wife, and to traine her to that baite, as it was for Beatrice to make Egano her husband arise out of his bed, & Anichin to beswadell him with a cudgell, after shée had laine a good space with him? And the other that tyed the packthréed to her great toe, and made her owne husband beléeue that he was not himselfe, since you say those merrie prankes of women in Boccaccio are so wittie and pretie?

Boccaccio. 1. Giornat. 2. Nouell 6. Giornat. 7. Nouell. 7. Giornat. 7. Nouell. 8.

Then said M. Bernard smiling: My Lords, for so much as my part hath bene to entreat onely of leasles, I entend not to passe my boundes therein, and I suppose I haue alreadie shewed why I iudge it not méete to touch women neither in worde nor déede about their honestie: and I haue also giuen them a rule not to nippe men where it grieueth them. But I say, that those Merrie prankes and leasles which you (my Lorde Gaspar) alledge, as that Alonso saide vnto M. Boadilla, although it somewhat touch honestie: yet doeth it not discontent mée, because it is fette farre inough off, and is so priuie, that it may be simply vnderstood, so, that he might haue dissembled the matter, and affirmed that he spake it not to that ende. Hée spake an other (in mine opinion) verie vnséemely, which was: When the Maéne passed by M. Boadillas house, Alonso saw painted with colours all the gate ouer such kinde of dishonest beasts, as are painted about Innes in

such sundry wise, and coming to the Countesse of Castagneto said vnto him: See (Madam) the heads of the wilde beasts that M. Boadillo killeth euery day in hunting. Marke you this, though it were a witty metaphor, and borrowed of Hunters, that count it a glory to haue many wilde beasts heads nailed at their gates, yet is it dishonest and shamefull iesting. Beside that, it was not in answering, for an answere hath much more curtesie in it, because it is thought that a man is prouoked to it, and it must needs be at a soudaine.

But to returne to our matter of the Mery prancks of women, I say not, that they do well to beguile their husbands: but I say, that some of the deceits which Boccaccio reciteth of women, are pretty and witty inough, & especially those you haue spoken of your selfe. But in mine opinion the pranck that Richard Minutoli wrought doth passe the bounds & is much more bitterer then that Beatrice wrought. For Richard Minutoli took much more frō Philippellos wife, thē did Beatrice frō Egano her husband: because Richard vō that pray pollicy enforced her, & made her to do of herselfe that she would not haue done: & Beatrice deceiued her husband, to do of her selfe that she lusted. Then said the L. Gaspar: for no other cause can a man excuse Beatrice but for loue, which ought to be allowed aswel in men as in women. Then answered M. Bernard: truly the passions of loue bring with them a great excuse of euery fault, yet iudge I (for my part) that a gentleman that is in loue, ought aswell in this point as in all other things, to be voide of dissimulation, and of an vpright meaning. And if it be true, that it is such an abhominable profit and trespasse to vse traditment against a mans very enemie: consider you how much more haynous that offence is against a person whom a man loueth. And I beleeue each honest louer sustaineth such veines, such watchings, hazardeth himselfe in such dangers, droppeth so many teares, vseth so many meanes and wayes to please the woman whome hee loueth, not chiefely to come by her bodye, but to winne the fortresse of that minde, to breake in peeces those most harde Diamondes, to heate that cold Yse, that lie many times in the tender brests of these women. And this do I beleeue is the true and sound pleasure, and the end wher-

Loue without dissimulation.

Traditment against one beloued.

The true end of louers desires.

to

to the intent of a noble courage is bent. And for my part truly (were I in loue) I would like it better to knowe assuredly that she whom I loued and serued, loued me againe with hart, and had bent her minde toward mée, without receiuing any other contentation, than to enioy her, and to haue my fil of her against her own will, for in that case I should thinke my selfe maister of a dead carkasse. Therefore such as compasse they? desires by the meane of these Merrie prankes, which may perhappes rather bée tearmed Tradiments than Merrie prankes, doo iniurie to other, and yet receiue they not for all that the contentation which a man should wish for in loue, possessing the body without the will. The like I say of certaine other, that in loue practise enchauntments, sorceries, and otherwhile plaine force; sometime meanes to cast them in sléepe, and such like matters. And know for a soth, that giftes also diminish much the pleasures of loue, because a man may stand in doubt whether hée be beloued or no, but that the woman maketh a countenance to loue him, to fare the better by him: therefore ye see that the loue of Ladies and great women is esteemed, because it appeareth that it can arise of none other cause, but of perfect and true loue: neither is it to be thought that a great Lady will at any time shewe to beare good will to her inferiour, vnlesse she loue him in very déede.

Vnhonest louers.

Gifts in loue.

Then answered the L. Gaspar: I denie not that the intent, the paines, and dangers of Louers ought not principally to haue their ende directed to the victorie rather of the minde, than of the body of the woman beloued. But I say, that these deceits which you in men terme Tradiments, and in women Merrie prankes, are a very good meane to come to this ende, because allwayes he that possesseth the body of women, is also maister of the minde. And if you bethinke you well, Philippello, wife after her great lamentatiō for the deceit wrought her by Richard, knowing how much more sauourie the kisses of a louer were, than her husbands, turning her rigour into tender affectiō toward Richard, from that day forward loued him most dearely.

You may perceiue now, that his continuall haunting, his presents, and his so many other tokens, which had bene so long a

prooffe of his good will towarde her, were not able to compasse that, that his being with her a small while did. Now see this Merrie pranke or Tradiment (how ever you will terme it) was a good way to win the fortresse of that minde. Then M. Bernard: You (quoth hée) make a surmise, which is most false, for in case women should allwayes giue their minde to him that pollesseth their bodie, there should bée none founde that would not loue their husbandes more than any person in the worlde beside, where it is séene not to bée so. But Iohn Boccaccio was (as you bée) without cause an enemie to women. The Lord Gaspar answered: I am no enemie of theyrs, but (to confesse the truth) fewe men of worthinesse there bée, that generally set any store by woman, although otherwhile, to serue their turne withall, they make wise to the contrarie. Then answered maister Bernard: You doo not onely iniurie to women, but to all men also that reuerence them. Notwithstanding (as I haue saide) I will not swarue from my first purpose of Merry prankes, & vndertake such an enterprise so hard, as is the defence of women against you, that are a valiant Champion. Therefore I will ende this my communication, which perhappes hath bene longer than néeded, but out of peraduenture, not so pleasant as you loked for. And since I sée the Ladies so quiet, and beare these iniuries at your handes so patiently as they doo, I will henceforth beleeue that some parte of that which the Lord Octauian hath spoken is true: Namely, That they passe not to be ill reported of in euery other matter, so their honestie bee not touched. Then a great part of the women there, for that the Dutchesse had beckened them so to doo, arose vp on their féete, and ran all laughing towarde the L. Gaspar, as they would haue buffeted him, and done as the wood women to Orpheus, saying continually: Now shall wee see whether wée passe to bée ill spoken of or no. Thus partly for laughing, and partly for the rising of euery one from his seate, it séemed the sleepe that now beganne to enter into the eyes and head of some of them departed. But the L. Gaspar saide: Sée I pray you where they haue not reason on their side, they will preuaile by plaine force, and so ends the communication, giuing vs leaue to depart with stripes.

Orpheus was torne in peeces with women.

Then

Then answered the Lady Emilia: No (quoth she) it shall not be for when you perceiued M. Bernard was wearie of his long talke, you began to speake so much ill of women, thinking you should finde none to gainsay you. But we will set into the field a fresher knight that shall fight with you, because your offence shall not 'ese so long vnpunished. So turning her to the L. Iulian, that hitherto had said little, she said vnto him: You are counted the protector of the honour of women, therefore it is now high time to shew that you come not by this name for nothing; and in case ye haue not bene worthily recompensed at any time for this profession hitherto, now must you thinke, that in putting to flight so bitter an enemie, you shall binde all women to you much more, and so much, that where they shall do nothing else but reward you, yet shall the bondage still remaine great, and neuer cease to be recompenced. Then answered the Lord Iulian: We thinke (madam) you shewe great honour to your enemie, and very little to your defender: for vndoubtedly the Lorde Gaspar hath saide nothing against women, but it hath bene fully answered by maister Bernarde. And I beleeue euery one of vs knoweth, that it is méete the Courtier beare very great reuerence towarde women, and a discréete and courteous person ought neuer to touch their honestie neither in bord, nor in good earnest. Therefore to dispute of this so open a truth, were (in manner) to put a doubt in manifest matters. I thinke well that the L. Octauian passed his boundes somewhat, in saying that Womē are most vnperfect creatures, & not apte to worke any vertuous deede, and of little, or no worthinesse in respect of men. And because many times credit is giuen to men of great authoritie, although they speake not the full truth, and when they speake in borde, the Lorde Gaspar hath suffered himselfe to be led by the L. Octauians wordes, to say that Men of wisedome set no store by them, which is most false. For I haue knowne fewe men of worthinesse at any time that do not loue and obserue women, the vertue and consequently the worthinesse of whome I deeme not a iotte inferiour to mens. Yet if we should come to this contention, the cause of women were like to quaile greately, because these Lordes

Men of worthinesse obserue women.

haue shaped a Courtier that is so excellent, and of so many diuine qualities, that whoso hath the vnderstanding to consider him to bee such a one as he is, will imagine that the deserts of women cannot attaine to that point. But in case the matter should bee equally diuided, we haue first neede of so wittie and eloquent a person as is Count Lewis and Sir Fridericke, to shape a Gentlewoman of the Pallace, with all perfections due to a woman, as they haue shaped the Courtier with ỹ perfections belonging to a man. And then if he that defended their cause were any thing wittie and eloquent, I beleeue (because the truth will bee a helpe to him) he may plainely shewe, that women bee as full of vertues as men be. The L. Emilia answered: Nay, a great deale more, and that it is so, ye may see, vertue is the female, and vice the male. The L. Gaspar then laughed, and then turning him to M. Nicholas Phrisio: What is your iudgement Phrisio (quoth he?) Phrisio answered: I am sorie for the Lord Iulian that he is so seduced with the promises and flattring words of the L. Emilia, to run into an error to speake the thing which for his sake I am ashamed of. The L. Emilia answered smiling: You wil sure be ashamed for your owne sake, when you shall see the Lord Gaspar after he is conuicted, confesse his owne errour, and yours too, and demaund that pardon which wee will not graunt him. Then spake the Dutchesse: Because it is very late, I will we defer the whole vntill to morrowe; the more for that I thinke it well done we follow the Lord Iulians counsell, that before hee come to this disputation, wee may haue a Gentlewoman of the Pallace so fashioned in all perfections, as these Lords haue fashioned the perfect Courtier. Madam, quoth the L. Emilia then, I pray God it fall not to our lotte, to giue this enterprise to any confederate with the L. Gaspar, least he fashion vs for a Gentlewoman of the Court, ons that can do nought else but looke to the kitchin, and spinne. Then saide Phrisio: Indeed that is an office fit for her. Then spake the Dutchesse: I haue a good hope in the L. Iulian (quoth shee) who will (for the good witte and iudgement I knowe he is of) imagine the greatest perfection that may bee wished in a woman, and in like manner expresse it well in words, and so shall we haue somewhat to confounde the L. Gas-

pars falſe accuſation withall. Madam, anſwered the L. Iulian, I wot not whether your deuiſe be good or no, to commit into my hands an enterpriſe of ſo great waight, (to tell you the troath) I thinke not my ſelfe able inough. Neither am I like the Counte and Sir Fridericke, which with their eloquence haue shaped ſuch a Courtier as neuer was: nor I beléeue euer ſhall bée. Yet if your pleaſure bée ſo, that I ſhall take this burthen vpon me, let it be at the leaſt with thoſe conditions that the other haue had before mée: namely, that euery man where he ſhall thinke good, may reply againſt me, and this ſhall I recken not ouerthwarting, but aide, and perhappes in correcting mine errours, we ſhall finde the perfection of a Gentlewoman of the Pallace, which we ſéeke for. I truſt, anſwered the Dutcheſſe, your talke ſhall be ſuch, that little may be ſaid againſt you. Therefore ſettle your minde to thinke vpon onely this, and faſhion vs ſuch a Gentlewoman, that theſe our aduerſaries may be aſhamed to ſay, that ſhe is not equall with the Courtier in vertue: of whom it ſhal be well done Sir Fridericke ſpeake no more, for he hath but too wel ſet him forth, eſpecially ſince we muſt compare a woman to him. I haue (madam) anſwered ſir Fridericke, litle or nothing now left to ſpeake of the Courtier, and that I did thinke vpon, M. Bernards Ieaſts haue made me forget. If it be ſo, quoth the Dutcheſſe, aſſembling together to morrowe betimes, we ſhall haue leiſure to accompliſh both the one and the other. And when ſhe had ſo ſaid, they aroſe all vpon their féete, and taking their leaue reuerently of the Dutcheſſe, euery man withdrew himſelfe to his lodging.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE Courtier of Count *Baldessar Castilio*, vnto Maister *Alphonsus Ariosto*.

IT is read, that Pythagoras very wittily and after a subtill maner found out the measure of Hercules body, in that he knew that the space where euery fiue yeares they kept the games or pyles of Olympus in Achaia, nigh vnto Elis before Iupiter Olympicus temple, was measured by Hercules himselfe: and appointed a furlong of ground there of fiue hundreth and fiue and twentie of his owne feete: and the other furlonges which after his time were cast out in diuers parts of Greece by his successors, were also of fiue hundred and fiue and twentie of theyr feete, but for all this, somewhat shorter than his. Pythagoras knew forthwith by that proportion how much Hercules foote was bigger then all the other mens feete, and so the measure of his foote once knowne, he gathered that all Hercules body proportionally in greatnesse exceeded all other mens, so much, as that furlong, all other furlongs. You may then (gentle M. Alphonsus) by the very same reason easily gathered by this least part of all the rest of the body, how farre the Court of Vrbin excelled all the other in Italy. For if the sportes and pastimes (that are vsed to none other ende, but to refresh the spearisome mindes after earnest labours) farre passed all such as are commonly vsed in the other Courtes of Italy: What (gesse you) were all the other vertuous practises, wherevnto all men had their mindes bent, and were fully and wholy addicted. And of this I may bee bolde to make my vaunt, nothing mistrusting but to be credited therein, considering I goe not about to praise so auntient antiquities wherein I might, if I were disposed, faine what I lusted: but of this I speake, I am able to bring forth many men of worthy credence, for sufficient triall, which as yet are in life, and haue the-

Pisis ad Iouem Olympicum.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 23. de natur. histor.

The Court of Vrbin.

selues

seluns seene and marked well the liuing and conuersation of such as in times past excelled in the Court. And I recken my selfe bounde (for that lyeth in me to doe) to stretch forth my force, with all diligence to defend this famous memorie, from mortall oblyuion, and with my penne, to make it liue in the mindes of our posterity, whereby perhaps in time to come, there shall not want that will enuy this our time. For there is no man that readeth of the wonderfull families of times past, but in his minde he conceiueth a certaine greater opinion of them that are written vpon, then it appeareth those bookes can expresse, though they haue bene written with perfection: Euen so doe we consider, that all the readers of this our trauell (if at the least wise it shall deserue so much fauor, that it may come to the sight of Noblemen and vertuous Ladies) will cast in their mindes, and thinke for a surety, that the Court of Vrbin hath beene much more excellent, and better furnished with notable men, then we are able to expresse in writing: And in case so much eloquence were in me, as there was prowesse in them, I should need none other testimony to make such giue full credence to my words, as haue not seene it.

When therefore the company was assembled in the accustomed place, that day following at the due houre, and set with silence, euery man turned his eies to sir Fridericke and to the L. Iulian, waiting when the one of thē would begin to speake his mind. Wherefore the Dutchesse, after she had bin still a while, my L. Iulian (quoth she) euerye mans desire is to see this your Gentlewoman well set forth, and if you shew her not in such manner, that all her beauties may be discerned, I we will suspect that you are iealous ouer her. The Lord Iulian answered: Madam, if I reckon her beautifull, I would shew you her without any other setting forth, euen in such wise, as Paris did behold the three goddesses. But in case these Ladies be of a minde to trim her (who can do it right well) I doubt me, that not only the L. Gaspar and Sir Frederick, but all the other Lords here shall haue a iust cause to speake ill of her. Therefore since there is in some part painted beautifully, perhappes it shall be better to keepe her close, and see what sir Fridericke hath yet behinde to speake of the Courtier, which (no doubt) is much more

Mine.
Iuno.
Venus.

beautifull

beautifull than my woman can be. That I had in minde answe-
rer Sir Fridericke, is not so necessarie for the Courtier, but it may
be left out, and no hurt done: yea, it is a contrarie matter almost to
that hitherto hath bene reasoned of. And what matter is it then,
quoth the Dutchesse? Sir Friderick answered, I was purposed in
what I could, to declare the causes of these companies and or-
ders of knights, brought vp by great Princes vnder diuers stan-
derds: as is that of S. Michael in the house of France: the order of
Order of S. Michaell. the Garter vnder the title of S. George in the house of England: the
Of the Garter Golden Fleece in the house of Burgony, & how these dignities be
Of the Golden Fleece. giuen, & in what sort they that deserue are disgraded frō them: how
they first came vp, who were the founders of thē, and to what end
they were ordained, because we see that these knights in great Courts
are alwayes highly esteemed. I minded also, if time had sufficed
me, beside the diuersitie of maners vsed in the Courts of Christian
princes in feasting and appearing in open shewes, to speake some-
what also of the great Turke: but much more particularly of the
Great Turke. The Sophy. Sophy king of Persia: for when I vnderstood by Merchant-men
a long time trafficked in that countrie, the noble men there be very
full of prowesse, and well mannered, & vse in their conuersation one
with an other, and in womens seruice, and in all their practisings
much courtesie and great sobrietie; and when time serueth in mar-
tiall feates, in sportings, and vndertaking enterprises, much sump-
tuousnes, great liberalitie, & bravery: I delighted to know what or-
der they take in these things which they set most store by, where-
in their pompes consist, and brauneries of garments and armour,
wherein they differ from vs, and wherein we agree: what kinde of
entertainment they? women vse, and with what sober mode they
shewe fauour to whoso is in their loue-seruice: but to say the truth,
it is no fit time now to enter into this talke, especially since there is
other to be said, & much more to our purpose than this. Yes, quoth
the Lord Gaspar, both this and many other things bee more to the
purpose, than to fashiō this gentlewomā of the pallace, forsomuch
as the very same rules that are giuen for the Courtier, serue also
for the woman: for as well ought shee to haue respect to times and
places, and to obserue as (much as her weakenes is able to beare) al

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the other properties that haue bene so much reasoned vpon, as the Courtier. And therefore in stead of this, it were not perhaps amisse to teach some particular pointes that belong to the seruice about a Princes person: for no doubt the Courtier ought to knowe them, and to haue a grace in doing them. Or else to speake of ỳ way that he ought to take in ỳ bodily exercises, how to ride, to hãdle weapõ, and wrastle, & wherin consisteth the hardnes of these feates. Then spake the Dutchesse, smiling: Princes are not serued about they? persons with so excellent a Courtier as this is. As for the exercises of body & strength, & slightnesse of person, we will leaue them for M. Peter Mount, here to take charge to teach them whẽ he shal think most meet, for presently the L. Iulian hath nothing else to speake of, but of this woman, whõ (me thinke) you now begin to haue a feare of, & therfore would bring vs out of our purpose. Phrisio answered: Certaine it is, that now it is nẽdlesse and out of purpose to talke of women, especially being yet behinde somewhat to be spoken of the Courtier, for the one matter ought not to be mingled with ỳ other. You are in a great error, answered the L. Cæsar Gonzaga: for like as no Court, how great soeuer it be, can haue any sightlinesse, or brightnesse in it, or mirth without women, nor any Courtier can be gracious, pleasant, or hardy, nor at any time vndertake any gallant enterprise of Chiualrie, vnles he be stirred with ỳ conuersatiõ and with ỳ loue & contentation of women: euen so in like case, the Courtiers talk is most vnperfect euermore, if ỳ entercourse of womẽ giue thẽ not a part of ỳ gracewherwithal they make perfect and deck out their playing ỳ Courtier. The L. Octauiã laughed, & said: Beholde a peece of the bayte that bringeth men out of their wits. Then the L. Iulian turning him to the Dutchesse, Madam (quoth he) since it is so your pleasure, I will speake that commeth to mind, but with very great doubt to satisfie. And I wille a great deale lesse paine it were for me to fashion a Lady ỳ should deserue to bee M. of the world, than a perfect Gentlewoman of the court; for of her I wot not where to haue a patterne, but for a Queene I should not need to seeke far, and sufficient it were for me, onely to imagine the heauenly conditions of a Lady whom I know, and through seeing them, direct all my thoughts to expresse plainely with wordes the

thing

thing, that many see with their eyes, and where I could do no more, yet should I fulfill my dutie in naming her. Then saide the Dutchesse: Passe not your bounds (my Lord Iulian) but minde the order taken, and fashion the gentlewoman of the Pallace, that this so worthy a mistresse may haue him that shall worthily serue her. The L. Iulian proceeded: For a proofe therefore (Madam) that your commaundement may driue me to assay to do, yea the thing I haue no skill in, I wil speake of this excellent womā as I would haue her. And when I haue fashioned her after my minde, and can afterward get none other, I wil take her as mine owne, after the example of Pigmalion. And whereas the L. Gaspar hath said, that the very same rules that are giuē for the Courtier, serue also for the woman, I am of a contrary opinion. For albeit some qualities are common and necessary as well for the woman as ẏ man, yet are there some other more meete for ẏ womā than for the man, and some again meet for the man, ẏ she ought in nowise to meddle withal. The very same I say of the exercises of ẏ body. But principallly in her fashions, maners, words, gestures, and conuersation, (me think) the woman ought to be much vnlike the man. For right as it is seemely for him to shewe a certaine manlinesse ful & steadie, so doth it wel in a woman to haue a tendernesse, soft & milde, with a kind of womanly sweetnesse in euery gesture of hers, ẏ in going, standing, and speaking what euer she lusteth, may alwayes make her appeare a womā, without any likenes of man. Adding therfore this principle to the rules that these Lordes haue taught the Courtier, I think well, she may serue her turne with many of them, and be endued with very good qualities, as the Lord Gaspar saith. For many vertues of the minde I recken be as necessarie for a womā, as for a man. Likewise noblenesse of birth, auoyding affectation or curiositie, to haue a good grace of nature in all her doings, to bee of good conditions, wittie, foreseeing, not haughtie, not enuious, not ill tongued, not light, not contentious, not vnteward ly, to haue the knowledge to win and keepe the good wil of her Ladie, and of all others, to do well and with good grace the exercises comely for women. Me thinke well beautie is more necessarie in her than in the Courtier, for (to say the truth) there is a great lacke

Ouid. lib. 13. metam.

Wherein the womā should differ from the man.

In what they agree.

Beautie.

in

in the woman that wanteth beauty. She ought also to be more circumspect & to take better hed that she give no occasion to be ill reported of, and so to behaue herselfe, that she be not only not spotted with any fault, but not so much as with suspition. Because a womā hath not so many wayes to defend her selfe from slaunderous reports, as hath a man. But for so much as Count Lewis hath very particularly expressed the principall profession of the Courtier, and willeth it to be in Martiall feates, me thinke also behouefull to utter (according to my iudgement) what the Gentlewoman of the palace ought to be: in which point when I haue throughly satisfied, I shall thinke my selfe rid of the greatest part of my dutie. Leauing therefore a part the vertues of the minde that ought to be common to her, with the Courtier, as wisedome, noblenes of courage, staidnesse, and many moe: and likewise the conditions that are meet for all women, as to be good and discrete, to haue the vnderstanding to order her husbands goods, and her house and children, when she is maried, and all those parts that belong to a good huswife: I say that for her that liueth in Court, me thinke there belongeth vnto her aboue all other things, a certaine sweetenesse in language that may delight, whereby she may gently entertaine all kinde of men, with talke worth the hearing, and honest, and applyed to the time and place, & to the degrée of the person she communeth with all. Accompanying with sober and quiet maners, and with the honesty that must alwayes be a stay to her deeds, a ready liuelines of wit, whereby shée may declare her selfe farre wide from all dulnes: but with such a kind of goodnesse, that shée may bee estéemed no lesse chaste, wise and courteise, then pleasant, feate conceited, and sober: and therefore must she kéep a certaine meane, very hard and (in a maner) detined of contrary matters, and most iust to certaine limits, but not passe them. This woman ought not therefore (to make herselfe good and honest) be so squemish, & make wise to abhorre both the company & the talke (though somewhat of ỹ wanton honest) if she be present, to get her thence by and by, for a man may lightly gesse that shée fayned to be so coye to hide that in her selfe, which shée doubted others might come to the knowledge of: and such nice fashions are alwaies hatefull. Neither ought she again (to

Vertues of the minde.

Commune properties.

Sweetnesse in language.

Liuelinesse of wit.

A meane.

Wanton talke

shew

Too much familiaritie.

shew herselfe free and pleasant) speake wordes of dishonestly, nor ble a certaine familiarity without measure and bridle, and fashiõs to make men beléeue that of her, that perhaps is not: but being present at such kinde of talke, she ought to giue the hearing with a little blushing and shamefastnes. Likewise to eschew one vice that I haue seene raigne in many: namely, to speake and willingly to giue eare to such as report ill of other women: for such as in hearing the dishonest behauiours of other women disclosed, are offended at the matter, and make wise not to credite, and (in maner) to thinke it a wonder that a woman should leade an vncleane life, they make proose that since this fault seemeth vnto them so foule a matter, they commit it not. But those that goe alwayes harking out the loues of others & disclose them so point by point, & with such ioy, it seemeth that they enuy the matter, and that their desire is to haue all men know it, that the like may not be imputed to them for a trespasse, and so they turne it to certaine laughters, with a kinde of gesture, whereby they make men to suspect at the very same instant ỹ they take great cõtentation at it. And of this ariseth, that men although to their seeming they haue diligent care to it, for the most part conceiue an ill opinion of them, and haue them in very small reputation, and (to their weening) with these behauiours, are entised to attempt them farther. And many times after warde they runne so farre at rouers, that it purchaseth them worthily an ill name, and in conclusion are so little regarded, that men passe not for their cõpany, but rather abhorre them. And contrariwise, there is no man so shamelesse & high minded, but beareth great reuerence to warde them that be counted good and honest, because that grauitie tempered with knowledge and goodnes, is (as it were) a shield against the wanton pride and brasklinesse of sawcy merchantes. Wherefore it is seene that one worde, a laughter or a gesture of good will, (how little soeuer it be) of an honest woman, is more set by of euery man, then all the toyes and wanton gestures of them that so lauishly shew small shamefastnes. And where they leade not indéed an vncleane life, yet with those wanton countenances, babbling, scornfulnes, and such scoffing conditions, they make men to think they do. And for so much as wordes that are not grounded

To speake and giue eare to ill reports of other women.

Honest women esteemed with all men.

by-

vpon some pithy foundation, are vaine and childish, the Gentlewoman of the Pallace, beside her discretion to vnderstand the condition of him shæ talketh withall, to entertaine him honestly, must nedes haue a sight in many things, and a iudgement in her communication to picke out such as bee to purpose for the condition of him she talketh withall, and be heedfull that she speake not otherwhile where she would not, woordes that may offend him. Let her beware of praising her selfe vndiscreetly, or being too tedious, that she make him not wearie. Let her not goe mingle with pleasant and laughing talke, matters of grauitie: nor yet with graue Ieasts any feate conceites. Let her not foolishly take vpon her to knowe that she knoweth not, but soberly seeke to bee esteemed for that she knoweth not, auoyding (as is said) curiositie in all things. In this manner shall shæ be endued with good conditions, and the exercises of the body comely for a woman, shall she do with an exceeding good grace, and her talke shalbe plentious and ful of wisedome, honestie, and pleasantnesse: and so shall she be not onely beloued, but reuerenced of all men, and perhaps woorthy to be compared to this great Courtier, as well for the qualities of the mind, as of the body. When the L. Iulian had hitherto spoken, he held his peace, and setled himselfe as though he had made an ende of his talke. Then said the L. Gaspar: No doubt my L. Iulian, but you haue decked gayly out this Gentlewoman, and made her of an excellent condition: Yet me seemeth that you haue gone generally inough to woorke, and named in her certaine things, so greate, that I thinke in my minde you are ashamed to expounde them, and haue rather wished them in her, after the manner of them that sometimes wish for thinges impossible and aboue nature, than taught them. Therefore would I that you declared vnto vs a better, what exercises of the body are mete for a Gentlewoman of the Pallace, and in what sort shæ ought to entertaine, and what those many things bee which you say shæ ought to haue a sight in: and whether wisedome, noblenesse of courage, stayednesse, and those many other vertues that you haue spoken of, your meaning is should helpe her about ye ouerseeing only of her house, children, and household (the which neuertheless you will not

Behauiour in talke.

Curiositie.

not haue her principall profession) or else to entertaine and to do these exercises of the body with a good grace: and in good fellowship take héede yée put not these sely vertues to so vile an occupation, that they may be ashamed of it. The Lorde Iulian laughed, and said: You cannot chose (my Lord Gaspar) but still you must vtter your ill stomacke against women. But certes me thought I had spoken sufficient, and especially before such audience, that I beléeue, none here but vnderstandeth concerning the exercises of the body, that it is not comely for a woman to practise feates of armes, riding, playing at Tenise, wrastling, and many other things that belong to men. Then said Vnico Aretino: Among thē of old time the manner was, that women wrastled naked with men, but wée haue lost this good custome, together with many moe. The L. Cæsar Gonzaga replyed to this: And in my time I haue séene women play at tenise, practise feates of armes, ride, hunt, & do (in a manner) all the exercises beside, that a gentleman can do. The Lorde Iulian answered: Since I may fashion this woman after my minde, I will not onely haue her to practise these manly exercises to sturdie and boisterous, but also euen those that are méete for a woman, I will haue her to do them with héedfulnesse, and with the short mildenesse that wée haue saide, is comely for her. And therefore in dauncing I would not sée her vse to swift and violent trickes, nor yet in singing or playing vpon Instruments those hard and often diuisions that declare more cunning than sweetnesse. Likewise the Instruments of Musick which she vseth (in mine opinion) ought to bée fitte for this purpose. Imagine with your selfe what an vnsightlye matter it were to sée a woman playe vppon a Tabor or Drumme, or blowe in a Flute or Trumpet, or any like Instrument: and this because the boysterousnesse of them both both couer and take away that swéete mildenesse which setteth so forth euery déede that a woman doeth. Therefore when shée commeth to daunce, or to shewe any kinde of Musicke, shée ought to be brought to it with suffering her selfe somewhat to be prayed, and with a certaine bashfulnes, that may declare the noble shamefastnesse that is contrarie to headinesse. Shée ought also to frame her garments to this entent, and so to apparell her selfe, that shée

Dauncing. Singing. Speculation of Musicke. Instruments of Musicke.

How shee should come to shewe her feates.

shée appeare not loud and light. But forasmuch as it is lawful and necessary for women to sette more by their beautie then men, and sundrie kindes of beautie there are, this woman ought to haue a iudgement to know what maner garments sette her best out, and be most fitte for the exercises that shée entendeth to vndertake at that instant, and with them to arraye her selfe. And where shée perceiueth in her a lightly and cheerfull beautie, shée ought to further it with gestures, wordes and apparell, that all may betoken mirth. In like case another that feeleth her selfe of a mild and graue disposition, shée ought also to accompany it with fashions of the like sorte, to encrease that that is the gift of nature. In like maner where shée is somwhat fatter or leaner then reasonable sise, or wanner, or browner, to helpe it with garments, but seemingly as much as shée can possible, and keeping her selfe cleanly, and handsome, shewe alwayes that shée bestoweth no payne nor diligence at all aboute it. And because the Lord Gaspar doth also aske what these many things be, she ought to haue a sight in, and how to entertain, and whether the vertues ought to be applied to this entertainmẽt, I say that I wil haue her to vnderstande, that these Lordes haue willed the Courtier to knowe: and in those exercises that we haue said are not comely for her: I wil at the least shée haue that iudgement, that men can haue of the things which they practise not, and this to haue knowledge to praise and make of Gentlemẽ more and lesse according to their deserts. And to make a briefe rehearsal in fewe wordes that is alreadie saide, I wil that this woman haue a sight in Letters, in Musicke, in drawing, or painting, and skilful in daunsing, and in deuising sportes and pastimes, accompanying with that discrete sober mode, and with the giuing a good opinion of her selfe, the other principles also that haue beene taught the Courtier. And thus in conuersation, in laughing, in sporting, in iesting, finally in euery thing shée shall be had in very great price, and shal entertaine accordingly both with lestes, and feat conceits made for her, euery person that commeth in her company. And albeit Stayednesse, noblenesse of courage, temperance, strength of the minde, wisedome, and the other vertues, a man would thinke belonged not to entertaine, yet wil I haue her endowed

Garments.

Beautie.

A iudgement in exercises not meet for her.

Qualities for a Gentlewoman.

Vertues.

with them all, not so much to entertaine (although notwithstanding they may serue thereto also) as to bee vertuous: and these vertues to make her suche a one, that she may deserue to be esteemed, and all her doings framed by them. I wonder then quoth the L. Gaspar smiling, since you giue womē both letters, & stayednesse, and noblenesse of courage and temperance, ye wil not haue them also to beare rule in Cities, and to make lawes, and to lead armies and men to stand spinning in the kitchin. The L. Iulian answered in like manner smiling: Perhaps to this were not amisse, then he proceeded. Do you not knowe that Plato (which indeede was not very friendly to women) giueth them the ouerseeing of Cities, and all other martial offices hee appointeth to men? Thinke you not there were many to be founde that could as wel skil in ruling Cities & armies, as men can? But I haue not appointed them these offices, because I fashion a wayting Gentlewoman of the Court, not a Queene. I see wel you would couertly haue vp againe the slaunderous report that the L. Octauian gaue women yesterday: namely, That they be most vnperfect creatures, and not apt to worke any vertuous deed, & of very litle worthinesse, and of no value in respect of men: But surely both he & you should be in very great error if ye thought so. Then said the L. Gaspar: I wil not haue vp again matters already past, but you would faine prease me to speak some word that might offend these Ladies minds, to make them my foes, as you with flattring them falsly wil purchase their good wil. But they are so wise abone other, that they loue truth better (although it make not so much with them) then false praises: Neyther take they it in ill parte for a man to saye, that Men are of a more worthinesse, and they wil not let to confesse that you haue spoken great wonders, and appointed to the Gentlewoman of the Palace certaine fond vnpossible matters, & so many vertues that Socrates & Cato, and al the Philosophers in the world are nothing to her. For to tel you the plaine troth, I marualle you were not ashamed so muche to passe your boundes, where it ought to haue sufficed ye to make this Gentlewoman of the Palaice beautiful, sober, honest, wel spoken, and to haue the vnderstanding to entertaine without running in slaunder, with dauncing, Musicke, sportes,

ſportes, laughing, Jeaſts, & the other matters that we ſée daily vſed in Court. But to go about to giue her the knowledge of all things in the world, and to appoint her the vertues that ſo ſeldome times are ſéene in men, yea and in them of olde time, it is a matter ẏ can neither be held withall, nor ſcantly heard. Now That women are vnperfect creatures, and conſequently of leſſe worthines than men, & not apt to cõceiue thoſe vertues that they are, I purpoſe not to affirme it, because ẏ prowes of theſe Ladies were inough to make me a liar. Yet this I ſay vnto you, that moſt wiſe men haue left in writing, that nature becauſe ſhe is alwaies ſet & bent to make things moſt perfect, if ſhe could, would cõtinually bring forth men, and when a woman is borne, it is a ſlacknes or default of nature, and contrarie to that ſhe would do. As it is alſo ſéene in one borne blinde, lame, or with ſome other impediment: and in trées, many fruites that neuer ripen: Euen ſo may a woman be ſaide to be a creature brought forth at a chaunce and by happe, and that it is ſo, marke me the workes of the man & the woman, & by them make your prowfe of the perfection of each of them. Howbeit ſince theſe defaults of women are the wite of nature that hath ſo brought thẽ forth, wée ought not for this to hate them, nor faint in hauing leſſe reſpect to them than is méete, but to eſteeme them aboue that they are, me thinketh a plaine error. The L. Iulian loked the L. Gaſpar would haue proceeded on ſtill, but when he ſawe now ẏ he held his peace, he ſaid: Of the vnperfectnes of womẽ, me think you haue alledged a very colde reaſon, wherevnto (albeit may hap it were not now méete to enter into theſe ſubtil points) I anſwere according to the opinion of him ẏ is of ſkill, & according to the truth, that Subſtãce in what euer thing it be, cãnot receiue into it more or leſſe: for as no ſtone can be more perfectly a ſtone than an other, as touching the being of a ſtone: nor one blocke more perfecter a blocke, than an other: no more can one man be more perfectly a man than an other: and conſequently the male kinde ſhal not be more perfect than the female, as touching his Formall ſubſtance: for both the one and the other is contained vnder the Species of Homo, and that wherein they differ, is an Accidentall matter, and no Eſſentiall.

A woman the default of nature.

Subſtantia non recepit magis aut minus.

Homo both man and woman.

In case you will then tell me that the man is more perfecter than the woman, though not as touching the essentiall, yet in the accidentes, I answere that these accidents must consist eyther in the body, or in the minde: if in the body, because the mã is more sturdier, nimbler, lighter, and more abler to endure trauell, I say that this is an argumẽt of small perfection: for among men themselues, such as abound in these qualities aboue other, are not for them the more esteemed: and in warre, where the greatest part of painfull labours are: and of strength, the stoutest are not for all that the most set by. If in the minde, I say, what euer things men can vnderstand, the self-same can women vnderstand also: and where it pierceth ỹ capacitie of ỹ one, it may in like wise pierce the others. Here, after the L. Iulian had made a litle stop, he proceeded smiling: Do you not know that this principle is helde in Philosophie, Who so is tender of flesh, is apt of mind? Therfore there is no doubt, but womẽ being tender of flesh, are also apter of mind, & of a more enclined wit to musings & speculatiõs, than men. Afterward he followed on. But leauing this a part, because you said that I should make my proofe of the perfectiõ of each of thẽ by the works, I say vnto you, if you consider the effects of nature, you shall finde, that she bringeth women forth as they be, not at a chance, but fitly necessarie for the ende. For albeit she shapeth them of body not stoute, and of a milde minde, with many other qualities contrarie to mens, yet do the conditions of each of them stretch vnto one selfe ende, concerning the selfe-same profit. For euen as though that weake feeblenes, women are of a lesser courage, so are they also by the very same more warie. Therfore mothers nourish vp children, and fathers instruct them, and with great manlinesse prouide for it abroade, that they with carefull diligence store vp in the house, which is no lesse praise.

Women haue archieued great enterprises.

Women learned.

In like case you will then consider, the auntient Hystories (albeit men at all times haue bene very sparing in writing the praises of women) and them of latter daies, ye shal find ỹ continually Wisdome hath raigned as well among women as men: and that such there haue bene also that haue made warre and obtained glorious victories, gouerned Realmes, with great wisedome and iustice,

and done, what euer men haue done. As touching sciences, doe you not remember yee haue read of so many that were well seene in Philosophie? Other that haue bẽ most excellent in Poetrie? Other, that haue pleaded, & both accused and defended before Iudges most eloquently: Of handy crafts, long it were to rehearse, neither is it needfull to make any rehearsall thereof. If then in the essentiall substance, the man is no more perfect then the woman, nor yet in the accidents (and of this beside reason, the experiences are seene) I wot not wherein this his perfection should consist. And because you said ỹ Natures intent is alwaies to bring forth things most perfect, & therefore if she could, would alwaies bring forth a man, & that the bringing a woman forth, is rather a default & slacknes of nature, then her intent. I answere you that this is ful and wholly to be denied, neither can I see why you may say, that nature entendeth not to bring forth women, without whom mankind cannot be preserued, whereof nature her selfe is more desirous then of any thing else, because through the meanes of this fellowship of male and female, she bringeth forth children, that restore the receiued benefits in their childhood, to their fathers in their olde dayes, in that they nourish them: afterward they renue them, in begetting themselues also other children, of whom they loke in their old age to receiue it, that being yong they bestowed vpon their fathers: wherby nature (as it were) turning her about in a circle, fulfilleth an euerlastingnesse, and in this wise giueth an immortalitie to mortall men. Since then to this, the woman is as needful as the man, I cannot discerne for what cause the one is made by hap more then the other. Truth it is, that Nature intendeth alwayes to bring forth matters most perfect, and therfore meaneth to bring forth man in his kinde, but not more male then female. Yea, were it so that she alwayes brought forth male, then should it without peraduenture be an vnperfectnes: for like as of the body & of the soule, there ariseth a compound more nobler then his partes, which is man: euen so of the fellowship of male & female, there ariseth a cõpound preseruing mãkind, without which the parts were in decay, and therfore male and female by nature are alwaies togi-

In Philosophy.
In Poetry.
In Rhetoricke

ther, neither can the one be without the other. Right so he ought not to be called the male, that hath not a female (according to the definitiō of both the one and the other) nor she the female that hath not a male. And for so much as one kind alone betokeneth an imperfectiō, the diuines of old time refer both the one and the other to God: Wherfore Orpheus said that Iupiter was both male and female: And it is red in scripture, that God fashioned male & female to his likenes. And the Poets many times speaking of the gods, meddle the kinds together. Thē the L. Gaspar, I would not (quoth he) we should enter into these subtill pointes, for these women wil not vnderstand vs. And albeit I answere you with very good reasons, yet will they beléeue, or at the least make wise to beléeue ỹ I am in the wrong, & forthwith wil giue sentēceas they list. Yet since we are entred into them, only this will I say (that as you know, it is the opiniō of most wise men) that man is likened to the Forme, the woman to the Mattier: & therefore as the Fourme is perfecter then the Mattier, yea it giueth him his being, so is the man much more perfect then the woman. And I remember that I haue heard (when it was) that a great Philosopher in certaine Problemes of his, saith: Whēce cōmeth it that naturally the woman alwaies loueth the mā, that hath bin the first to receiue of hir amorous plesures? And cōtrariwise the mā hateth the womā that hath bin the first to couple in that wise with him? & adding therto the cause, affirmeth to be this: For that in this act the woman receiueth of the man perfection, & the man of the woman imperfection: & therefore euery man naturally loueth the thing that maketh him perfect, & hateth that maketh him vnperfect. And besides this, a great argument of the perfection of the man, & of the imperfection of the woman, is, that generally euery woman wisheth she were a man, by certaine prouocation of nature that teacheth her to wish for her perfection. The L. Iulian answered soberly: the sely poore creatures wish not to be a man to make them more perfect, but to haue liberty, and to be rid of the rule that mē haue of their owne authoritie chaleged ouer them. And the similitude which you giue of the Mattier & Fourme, is not alike in euery point: because the woman is not made so perfect by the mā, as is the Mattier by the Fourme, for:

male cannot be without female.

Fourme.

Mattiers.

Aristot. Phisic, xvii.

for the Matter receiueth his being of the Fourme, & cannot stand without it, yea ỹ more Matter Forms haue, the more imperfectiõ they haue withall, and seuered from it, are most perfect: but the woman receiueth not her being of the mã, yea as she is made perfect by the man, so doth she also make him perfect: wherby both the one & the other come together to beget childr̃: the which thing they cannot do any of them by themselues. The cause then of the continuall loue of the woman toward the first that she hath bẽn with, and of the hatred of the man toward the first woman, I will not affirme to be that your Philosopher allegeth in his Problemes, but I impute it to the sureness & stableness of the woman, & wauering of the man, & that not without naturall reason: for since the male is naturally hote, by that qnality he taketh lightnesse, stirring and vnstedfastnes: and contrariwise the womã through colde, quietnesse, steady waightinesse, and more earnest impryntings. Then the Lady Emilia turning her to the L. Iulian, for loue of God (quoth she) come once out of these your Matters and Fourms, and males, and females, & speake so that you may be vnderstood: for we haue heard and very well vnderstood the ill that the L. Octauian & the L. Gaspar haue spoken of vs: but since we vnderstand not now in what sort you stand in our defence, mée thinke therefore that this is a straying from the purpose, and a leauing of the euill imprynting in euery mans minde, that these our enemies haue giuen of vs. Giue vs not this name, answered the Lord Gaspar, for more méter it were for the L. Iulian, which in giuing women false prayses declareth that there are none true for them. The Lord Iulian sayde then: doubt you not (Madam) all shall be answered to. But I will not rayle vpon men so without reason, as they haue done vpon women. And if perchaunce there were any one here that meant to pen this our talke, I would not that in place where these Matters and Fourmes were vnderstood, the arguments and reasons which the L. Gaspar allegeth against you should be séene vnanswered to. I wot not, my L. Iulian, quoth then the L. Gaspar, how in this you can deny, that the man is not through his naturall qualities more perfect then the woman, which of complexion is colde, and the man hote, and much more nobler and perfecter is

Heate much perfecter then cold.

is heate then colde, because it is active and forth bringing: and (as you knowe) the element powreth downe heere among vs onely heate, and not colde, which pierceth not the workes of Nature: and therefore because women are colde of complexion, I thinke it is the cause of their faynthartednesse and fearefulnesse. Will you still, answered the Lord Iulian, enter into subtill poyntes: you shall perceiue your selfe at euery time to come into a greater peck of troubles: and that it is so, harken to. I grant you that heate in it selfe is more perfect then colde, but this followeth not in medled matters and compounded, for in case it were so, the body that were most hote, should be most perfect: which is false, because temperate bodies be most perfect: I do you to wit moreouer, that that woman is of complexion colde, in comparison of the man which for ouermuch heate is far wide from temper: but as touching her selfe she is temperate, or at the least neerer to temper then the man, because she hath that moysture within her of equall portion with the naturall heate, which in the man through ouermuch drouth, doth sooner melt and consume away. She hath also such a kind of cold, that it resisteth, and comforteth the naturall heate, and maketh it nearer to temper, and in the man ouermuch heate doth soone bring the naturall warmth to the last degree, the which wanting nourishment, consumeth away: and therefore because men in generation sooner ware drye then women, it happeneth oftentimes that they are of a shorter life. Wherefore this perfection may also bee giuen to women, that liuing longer then men, they accomplish it, that is the intent of nature more then men. Of the heate that the element powreth downe vpon vs, we take not now, because it is diuers in signification, to it which we entreat vpon: the which since it is nourisher of all things vnder the sphere of the Mone, aswell hote as colde, it cannot be contrary to colde. But the fearefulnes in women, although it betokeneth an imperfection, yet doth it arise of a praise worthy cause, namely the subtilnes & readines of the spirits ỹ conuay spedily the shapes to the vnderstanding, and therefore are they soone out of patience, for outward matters. Full well shall you see many times some men that dread neither death nor any thing else, yet are they not for all that to bee called hardye, because

Heate.

Women cold of complexiõ.

Why the woman is more temperate thẽ the man.

Men sooner drye then women.

The perfectiõ of women aboue men.

Fearefulnesse in women.

Heady persõs.

because they know not the danger, and goe forth like harebraines where they see the way open, and cast no more with themselues, and this procedeth of a certaine grossenes of ỹ dulled spirits: therfore a fond person cannot be said to be stout hearted, but very courage indeed commeth of a proper aduisement, & determined will so to doo, and to esteeme more a mans honestie and dutie, than all ỹ perils in the world, & although he see none other way but death, yet to be of so quiet an hart & mind, that his sences be not to seeke nor amazed, but do their dutie in discoursing & bethinking, euen as though they were most in quiet. Of this guise and manner we haue seene, and heard say many great men to be, likewise many women, which both in olde time & presently, haue shewed stoutnes of courage, and brought matters to passe in the worlde worthy infinite praise, no lesse then men haue done. Then said Phrisio: These matters began when the first woman in offending, made others to offend also against God, & for inheritance left vnto mankind death, afflictions, sorrowes, & all other miseries & calamities, that be felt now a daies in the world. The Lorde Iulian answered: Since you will also further your purpose with entring into Scripture, doo you not know that the same offence was in like manner amended by a woman? which hath profited much more than the hinderd vs, so that ỹ trespasse acquited with so worthy a deede, is counted most happie. But I purpose not now to tell you, how much in dignitie all creatures of mankinde bee inferiour to the Virgin our Ladie, for medling holy matters with these our fond reasonings: Nor rehearse how many women with infinit steadfastnesse haue suffered cruell death vnder Tyrants for the name of Christ: nor them that with learning in disputation haue confuted so many Idolaters. And in case you will answere me, that this was a miracle and the grace of ỹ holy Ghost, I say vnto you that no vertue deserueth more praise than that which is approued by ỹ testimonie of God. Many other also of whom there is no talke, you your self may loke vpon, especially in reading Saint Hierom, which setteth out certaine of his time with such wonderfull praises, that they might suffice the holyest man that can be. Imagin then how many there haue bene, of whom there is made no mention at all: because the

Courage.

Eue.

Our Lady.

S. Hierom.

séely poore soules are kept close without the pompous pride, to séeke a name of holinesse among the people, that now a dayes many men haue, accursed Hypocrites, which not minding, or rather setting small store by the doctrine of Christ, that willeth a man when he fasteth, to annoint his face, that he may appeare not to fast, and commaundeth prayer, almes-déedes, and other good workes to be done, not in the Market place, nor Sinagogues, but in secret, So that the left hand know not of the right: they affirme no treasure in the world to be greater, than to giue a good example: and thus hanging their head aside, and fastning theyr eyes vpon the ground, spreading a report about that they will not once speake to a woman, nor eate any thing but rawe hearbs, smokie, with their side garments all to ragged & torne, they beguile the simple; but for all that, they abstaine not from falsifying willes, sowing mortall hatred betwéene man and wife, and otherwhile poison: vsing sorcerie, inchantments, and all kinde of ribaldrie, and afterwarde alledge a certaine authoritie of their owne head, that saith: *Si non castè, tamen cautè*, and with this, wéene to heale euerie great sore, and with good reason to perswade him that is not héedefull, that God forgiueth soone all offences, how hainous soeuer they be, so they be kept close, and no ill example ariseth of them. Thus with a vaile of holinesse, and this mischieuous deuice, many times they turne all their thoughts to defile the chaste minde of some woman, oftentimes to sowe variance betwéen brethren, to gouern states, to set vp the one, & pluck downe the other, to chop off heads, to imprison & banish men, to be ministers of the wickednesse, and (in a maner) the storers and hoorders vp of the robberies that many Princes cõmit. Other past shame, delight to séeme delicate and smooth, with their crowne minionly shauen, and well clad, and in their gate lift vp their garment, to shewe their hose sit cleane, & the handsomnesse of person in making curtesie. Other vse certaine bye lookes and gestures euen at masse, which they hold opinion become them wel, and make men to behold them: mischieuous and wicked men, and cleane voyde not onely of all religion, but of all good manner. And when their naughtie life is laid to them, they make a Iest at it, and giue them a mocke that telleth them of it, and (as

Religious mẽ.

it

it were, count their vices as praise. Then said the L. Emilia: Such delight you haue to speake ill of Friars, that yee are fallen into this talke without all purpose. But you commit a great offence to murmur against religious persons, and without any profit ye burthen your conscience: for were it not for them, that they pray vnto God for vs, we should yet haue farre greater plagues than wee haue. Then laughed the Lord Iulian, and said: How gessed you so euen (Madam) that I spake of Friars, since I named them not? But for lothe this that I say, is not called murmuring, for I speake it plaine and openly. And I meane not the good, but the bad and wicked, of whom I haue not yet spoken the thousandeth part of that I know. Speake you not now of Friars, answered the Lady Emilia, for I thinke it (for my part) a grieuous offence to giue eare to you, and for hearing you any more, I will get mee hence. I am well pleased, quoth the L. Iulian, to speake no more of this. But to returne to the praises of women, I say that the Lorde Gaspar shall not finde me out any notable man, but I will finde his wife, or sister, or daughter, of like merit, and otherwhile aboue him. Beside that, many haue bene occasion of infinite goodnesse to their men, and sometime broken them of many errours. Therefore since women are (as wee haue declared) naturally as apt for the selfe-same vertues, as men bee, and the proofe thereof hath bene often seene, I wot not why, in giuing them that is possible they may haue, and sundrie times haue had, and still haue, I ought to be deemed to speake wonders, as the Lorde Gaspar hath obiected against mee: Considering that there haue euer bene in the worlde, and still are, women as nigh the woman of the Pallace, whom I haue fashioned, as men nigh the man whom these Lords haue fashioned. Then said the L. Gaspar: Those reasons ỹ haue experience against them (in my minde) are not good. And I wille, if I should happen to aske you what these great women are, or haue bene so worthy praise, as the great men, whose wiues, sisters, or daughters they haue bene, or that haue bene occasion of any goodnesse, or such as haue broken them of their errours, I beleeue it would cumber you shrewdly. Surely, answered the L. Iulian, none other thing could cumber me, but the multitude of them.

Women not inferiour to men.

And if time serued me, I would tell you to this purpose the Hystories of Octauia, wife to Marcus Antonius, & sister to Augustus: Of Porcia daughter to Cato, & wife to Brutus: Of Caia Cecilia, wife to Tarquinius Priscus: Of Cornelia, daughter to Scipio, & of infinite other, which are most knowne. And not onely these of our Country, but also Barbarians, as that Alexandra, which was wife to Alexander King of the Iewes, who after the death of her husbande, seeing the people in an vproze, and alreadie runne to weapon to slay the two children which shee had left behinde him, for a reuenge of the cruell and straight bondage that their father had allwayes kept them in, she so behaued her selfe, that suddenly she asswaged that iust furie, and in a moment, with wisedome made those mindes fauourable to the children, which the father in many yeares with infinite iniuries, had made their most enemies. Tell vs at the least, answered the Lady Emilia, how shee did? The Lorde Iulian saide: Shee perceiuing her children in so great a ieopardie, immediately caused Alexanders body to be cast out into the middest of the Market place, afterwarde calling vnto her the Citizens, shee saide, that shee knew their mindes were set on fire with most iust furie against her husbande: For the cruell iniuries which hee wickedly had done them, deserued it: and euen as when hee liued, shee did her best allwayes to withdrawe him from so wicked a life, so now shee was readie to make a triall thereof, and to helpe them to chastice him euen dead, as much as she might, and therefore should take that body of his, and giue it to be deuoured of dogges, and rent it in peeces in the cruellest manner they could imagine. But yet she desired them to take pittie vpon the innocent children, that could not chuse but be in no fault, but not so much as weeting of their fathers ill doings. Of such force were these wordes, that the raging furie once conceiued in all the peoples mindes, was suddenly asswaged, and turned into so tender an affection, that not onely with one accord they spared those children for their fathers sake, but also to the dead corpes they gaue a most honourable buriall. Here the Lord Iulian made a little pause, afterwarde he proceeded. Marke you not that Mithridates wife & sisters shewed as little feare of death

Octauia.
Porcia.
Cecilia.
Cornelia.

Alexandra Egesipp. lib. 1. cap. 12.

She asswaged the fury of the people.

Laodice?

death, than Mithridates himselfe: And Asdruballes wife, than Asdrubal himselfe? know you not that Harmonia daughter to Hiero the Syracusan, would haue dyed in the burning of her Countrie? Then Phrisio, where obstinacie is bent, no doubt (quoth he) but otherwhile ye shall finde some women that will neuer change purpose, as she that could no longer call her husband patchouse, with her handes made him a signe. The Lord Iulian laughed, and said: Obstinacie that is bent to a vertuous end, ought to be called steadfastnes, as in Epicharis a Libertine of Rome, which made priuy to a great conspiracie against Nero, was of such steadfastnes, ỹ being rent with all the most cruell tormentes that could be inuented, neuer disclosed any of the partners: And in the like perill many noble Gentlemen and Senators, fearefully accused brethren, friendes, and the dearest and best beloued persons to them in the worlde. What say you of this other, called Leena? In whose honour the Athenians dedicated before the Castle gate, a Lioneſſe of mettall without a tongue, to betoke in her the steadie vertue of silence. For she being in like sort made priuie to a conspiracie against tyrants, was not agast at the death of two great men her friendes, and for all she was torne with infinite and most cruell torments, neuer disclosed any of the conspirators. Then said the Lady Margaret Gonzaga: She seemeth that ye make to briefe rehearsal of these vertuous actes done by women. For although these our enemies haue heard them and read them, yet they make wise not to knowe them, and would faine the memorie of them were lost. But in case ye will bowe to vnderstand them, we will at the least honour them. Then answered the Lord Iulian: With a good will. Now will I tell you of one that did such a deede, as I beleeue the Lord Gaspar himselfe will confesse that very fewe men do. And began: In Massilia there was in times past an vsage which is thought came out of Greece, and that was, that openly there was poyson layde vp medled with Cicuta, and it was lawfull for him to take it, that alledged to the Senate that he ought to be rid of his life for some discommoditie that he felt therein, or else for some other iust cause: to the entent that who so had suffered too much aduersitie, or tasted ouergreat prosperitie, he might not continue in the one,

Harmonia.

Obstinacie called steadfastnesse.

Epicharis.

Leena bitte in sunder her tongue, & spet it in the face of Hippias the tyrant.

Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8.

Cicuta a venimous hearbe, horrible of sauour, one kind wherof is supposed to be hemlocke.

or change the other. In the presence therfore of Sextus Pompeius. Here Phrisio not tarrying to haue ȳ L. Iulian proceed further, this me seemeth quoth he, is the beginning of some long tale. Then the Lorde Iulian turning him to the Lady Margaret, saide: See Phrisio will not suffer me to speake. I would haue tolde you of a woman, that after she had shewed the Senate that she ought of right to dye, glad and without any feare, toke in the presence of Sextus Pompeius the poyson, with such steadfastnesse of minde, and with such wise and louing exhortation to hers, that Pompeius, and the rest that beheld in a woman such knowledge and steadinesse in the trembling passage of death, remained (not without teares) astonied with great wonder. Then the Lord Gaspar smiling, and I againe remember (quoth hee) that I haue read an Oration, wherein an vnfortunate Husband asketh leaue of the Senate to dye, and alledgeth that he hath a iust cause, for that hee cannot abide the continuall wearisomenesse of his wiues chatting, and had rather drinke of that poyson which you say was laide vp openly for these respects, than of his wiues scoldings. The Lorde Iulian answered: How many sely poore women should haue a iust cause to aske leaue to die, for abiding, I will not say the ill wordes, but the moste euill deedes of their husbands? For I know some my selfe, that in this world suffer the paines which are said to be in hell. Be there not againe, trow you, answered the Lord Gaspar, many husbands that are so tormented with their wiues, that euery houre they wish for death? And what displeasure, quoth the Lord Iulian, can women do their husbands, that is so without remedie, as those are which husbands do their wiues? which though not for loue, yet for feare are obedient to their husbandes. Sure it is indeed (quoth the Lord Gaspar) that the litle they do well otherwhile, commeth of feare, for selue there are in the world, that secretly in their minde hate not their husbands.

Nay, cleane contrarie, answered the L. Iulian: and in case you will remember what you haue read, it is to be seene in all histories, that alwaies (in a manner) wiues loue their husbands better than they their wiues. When haue you euer seene or read that a husband hath shewed such a token of loue towarde his wife, as did

Camma toward her husbande? I wotte not, answered the Lord Gaspar, what she was, nor what token she shewed. Nor I, quoth Phrisio. The L. Iulian answered: Giue eare. And you (my L. Margaret) loke ye beare it wel away. This Camma was a most beautiful young woman, endowed with such modestie and honest conditions, that no lesse for them, then for her beautie she was to be wondred at: and aboue other things, with al her heart she loued her husband, who had to name Synatus. It hapned that an other Gentleman of greater authoritie then Synatus, and (in a maner) head ruler and Tyrant of the Citie where they dwelled, fel in loue with this young woman: and after he had long attempted by all wayes and meanes to compasse her, and all but lost labour, bethinking himselfe that the loue she bore her husband, was the onely cause that withstood his desires, hee caused this Synatus to be slaine. Thus instant vpon her afterward continually, other fruite could he neuer get of her, then what he had before.

Camma.

Plutarc. An example of the true loue of a wife toward her husband.

Wherefore this loue daily encreasing, he was fully resolued to take her to wife, for al in degree she was much inferiour to him. So suite being made to her friendes by Synoris, (for so was the louer named) they toke in hande to perswade her to bee contented with it: Declaring that to agree thereto, was very profitable, and to refuse it, perilous for her, and them all. She after she hadde a while gaine-saide them, at lengthe made answere that she was contented. Her kinsfolke brought this tydings to Synoris, which passing measure glad, gaue order to haue this marriage made out of hande. After they were then both come for this purpose solemnely into the Temple of Diana, Camma had caused to be brought to her a certaine sweete drinke which she had made, and so before the Image of Diana, in the presence of Synoris she dranke the one moitie. Afterward with her own hand (for this was the vsage in marriages) she gaue the remaine to the bridegrome, which dranke it cleane vp. Camma assone as she saw her deuice take effect, kneeled her downe very ioyfully before the Image of Diana, and saide: Oh Goddesse, thou that knowest the bottome of my heart, be a god witnesse to me, how hardly after my deare husbande deceased, I haue restrained from killing my selfe,

and

and what paines I haue sustained to endure the griefe to liue in this bitter life, in which I haue felt none other ioye or pleasure, but the hope of the reuenge, which I perceiue now is come to effect.

Therefore with gladnesse and contentation, I goe to finde out the sweete company of that soule, which in life and death I haue alwayes more loued then mine owne selfe. And thou captiue, that weenedst to haue bin my husbande, in stead of a mariage bed, giue order to prepare thee a grane, for of thee do I heere make a sacrifice to the shadowe of Synattus. Synoris amazed at these wordes, and alreadie feeling the operation of the poyson within him, that put him to great paine, proued many remedies, but all preuayled not. And Camma had fortune so fauorable on her side, or what euer else, that before shee dyed, she had knowledge that Synoris was dead. When she heard of that, with very great contentation shee laide her vpon her bedde, with her eyes to heauen, continually calling vpon the name of Synattus, and saying: O most sweete mate, since nowe I haue bestowed for the last tokens vppon thy death, both teares and reuenge, and perceiue not that I haue any thing yet behinde to do for thee heere, I flee the worlde, and this without thee a cruel life, which for thy sake only in times paste was deare to mee. Come therefore and meete me (oh my Lorde) and imbrace as willingly this soule, as thee willingly commeth to thee. And speaking these wordes, and with her armes spread, as though she woulde at that instant haue imbraced him, dyed. Saye nowe Phrisio, what thinke you by this? Phrisio answered: We thinke you woulde make these Ladies weepe. But lette vs sette case this was true, I say vnto you, that we finde no more suche women in the worlde. The Lorde Iulian saide: Yes, that there be, and that it is so, giue eare. In my dayes there was in Pisa a Gentleman whose name was M. Thomas, of what house I remember not, for all I heard my father oftentimes tell it, which was his greate friende. This M. Thomas then, passing vppon a day in a little vessel from Pisa towarde Sicilia about his affaires, was ouertaken with certaine foists of Moores, that were on the backe of him vnawares, and before the gouernours of the vessel had espied them: And for the men within, defended themselues well,

An other example of fresher yeares.

Thomaso. Lucchese.

yet

yet because they were but fewe, and the enemies many, the boate fell with as many as were on boord, was taken by the Moores, some hurt, some whole, as fell to their lotte, and among them, M. Thomas, which had played the man, and slaine with his owne hande a brother of one of the Captaines of thole foiles: For which matter the Captaine full of wrath, as you may coniecture by the losse of his brother, would haue him for his prisoner, and beating and buffeting him dayly, brought him into Barbary, where in great miserie hee determined to keepe him alive his captiue, and with much bondagerie. All the rest, some one way, some an other, within a space were at libertie, and returned home, and brought tydings to his wife, called M. Argentine, and children, of the hard and great affliction which Maister Thomas lined in, and was like without hope to liue in continually, vnlesse God wonderfully helped him. The which matter when shee and they vnderstood for a certaintie, attempting certaine other wayes for his deliuerance, and where he himselfe was fully resolued to end his life, there happened a carefull affection and tender pittie so to quicken the wit and courage of a sonne of his called Paul, that he had respect to no kind of daunger, and determined eyther to dye, or to deliuer his father. The which matter hee brought to passe, and with such priuie conuciance, that hee was first in Ligurno, before it was knowne in Barbary that hee was parted thence. Herehence maister Thomas (being arriued in safetie) writ to his wife, and did her to weete his setting at libertie, and where he was, and how the next day hee hoped to see her. The honest Gentlewoman filled with so great and sudden ioy, that shee should so shortly as well through the zeale as prowesse of her sonne, see her Husband whom she loued so much, where shee once surely beleeued neuer to haue seene him againe, after shee had read the Letter, shee lifted her eyes to heauen, and calling vpon the name of her husband, fell starke dead to the ground, and with no remedie done to her, did the departed soule returne to the body againe. A cruell sight, and inough to temper the willes of men, and to withdraw them from courting so frequently superfluous ioies. Then said Phrisio smiling: What know you whether she dyed for sorrow or no, vnderstanding her

M. Argentine.

Inordinate affection.

husband was comming home? The L. Iulian answered: Because the rest of her life was nothing agreeable thereto. But I weene rather the soule could not tary the lingering to see him with the eyes of her body, & therefore forsoke it, and drawne out thence with coueting, fled by & by, where in reading the letter, her thought was fled. The Lord Gaspar saide: It may bee that this woman was ouerloning, because women in euery thing cleaue alwayes to the extremity, which is ill. And see for that shee was ouer loning, shee did ill to her selfe, to her husband, and to her children, in whome shee turned into bitternesse, the pleasure of that daungerous and desired libertie of his. Therefore you ought not to alledge her for one of the women, that haue been the cause of so great goodnesse. The L. Iulian answered: I alledge her for one of them that make triall that there are wiues which loue their husbandes. For of such as haue beene occasion of great profits in the worlde, I could tell you of an infinite number, and rehearse vnto you so auntient, that welnigh a man would iudge them fables. And of such as among men, haue beene the inuenters of such kind of matters, that they haue deserued to bee deemed Goddesses, as Pallas, Ceres, the Sybilles, by whose mouth God hath oftentimes spoken, and discouered to the world matters to come. And such as haue taught very great men, as, Aspacia and Diotima, the which also with sacrifice droue off a plague tenne yeares, that should haue fallen in Athens. I could tell you of Nichostrata mother to Euander, which shewed the Latines their letters. And of another woman also, that was mistris to Pindarus Liricu. And of Corinna & Sappho, which were most excellent in Poetrie: but I will not seeke matters so farre off. I say vnto you, that leauing the rest apart, of the greatnesse of Rome, perhaps women were a nobler cause thē men. This quoth the L. Gaspar, were good to vnderstand. The L. Iulian answered: Hearken to it then. After Troy was wonne, many Troians, that in so great a destruction escaped, fledde some one way, some another: of which one parte, that by manye sea stormes were tossed and tumbled, came into Italy, in the coaste where the Teuer entreth into the sea: to landing to prouide for their necessaries, began to goe a forraging about the Countrey. The women

Aspasia loued & taught the eloquent Pericles Duke of Athens.

Nichostrata, Hermione, Corinna, Sappho.

Women the cause of the greatnesse of Rome.

Tiberius.

women that tarried behinde in the ships, imagined among themselues a profitable deuise, that shoulde make an ende of their perilous and long Seawandring, and in steade of their lost Countrey recouer them a newe. And after they hadde laide theyr heads together, in the mens absence, they sette fire on the shippes, and the first that beganne this worke was called Roma. Yet standing in feare of the mens displeasure that were retyring backe againe, they went to méete with them, and embracing, and kissing in token of good wil, some their husbandes, some their next of kinne, they asswaged that first brunt: Afterwarde they disclosed to them quietly the cause of their wittie enterprise. Wherefore the Troians on the one side, for néede, and on the other for being courteously receiued of the inhabitantes, were very wel pleased with that the women had done, and there dwelled with the Latines in the place where afterwarde was Rome. And of this arose the auntient custome among the Romans, that women mæting their kinsfolke, kissed them. Now ye sée what a helpe these women were to giue the beginning to Rome. And the Sabine women were a no lesse helpe to the encrease of it, than were the Troiane to the first beginning: for when Romulus hadde purchased him the generall hatred of all his neighbours, for the rauine that he made of theyr women, hée was assailed with warre on all sides, the whiche for that hée was a valiant man, hée soone ridde his hands of with victorie: onely the warres with the Sabines excepted, which was very sore, because Titus Tatius King of the Sabines was very puissant and wise. Whereupon after a sore bickering betwéene the Romanes and Sabines, with very great losse on both sides, preparing for a freshe and cruel battaile, the Sabine women clad in blacke, with their haire scattered and haled, wéeping, comfortlesse, without feare of weapons nowe bent to giue the onset, came into the middes betwéene their fathers and husbandes, beséeching them not to file their hands with the blood of their fathees in lawe & sonnes in lawe, and in case it were so that they repined at this aliance, they should bende their weapons against them: for much better it were for them to dye, than to liue widowes or fatherlesse, and brotherlesse, and to remember that their children

Roma.

An auntient custome among the Romanes.

Women a help to the encrease of Rome.

T Tatius.

hadde bene begotten of such as hadde slaine their fathers, or they themselues of suche as had slaine their husbands. With these pitifull waylings many of them carried in their armes their young babes, of whome some beganne alreadie to lose their tongue, and seemed to call and sport with their graundfathers, vnto whom the women shewing forth their nephewes and weeping, said: Behold your owne blod that in such rage ye seeke to shed with your owne hands. Of such force was in this case the affection and wisedome of the women, that there was not only concluded betweene the two kings enemies togither, an indissoluble friendship and league, but also (which was a more wonderful matter) the Sabines came to dwel in Rome, and of two peoples was made one, and so did this accord much encrease the strength of Rome: thanked be the wise and couragious women which were so rewarded of Romulus, that parting ỳ people into thirtie bands, gaue them the names of the Sabine women. Here the L. Iulian pausing a while, and perceiuing that the L. Gaspar spake not, trowe you not (quoth he) that these women were occasion of goodnes to their men, and holped to the greatnes of Rome. The L. Gaspar answered: No doubt they were worthy much praise. But in case you would as wel tel the faults of women, as their wel doing, you would not haue kept hid, that in this warre of T. Tatius, a woman betraied Rome, and taught the enemies the way to take the Capitolium, whereby the Romanes were wel nigh all vndone. The L. Iulian answered: You mention me one ill woman, and I tell you of infinite good. And beside the aforenamed, I could apply to my purpose a thousand other examples of the profite done to Rome by women, and tel you why there was once a Temple builded to Venus armata, and an other to Venus calua, and how the feast of Handmaidens was instituted to Iuno, because the Handmaidens once deliuered Rome from the guiles of the enemies.

30. Curiæ.

Sp. Torpeius daughter corrupted with money by T. Tatius.

Venus armata. Venus calua. Fuluia.

But leauing all these thinges apart, that couragious acte for discouering the conspiracy of Catilina, for which Cicero is so praised, hadde it not chiefly his beginning of a common woman, whiche for this maye be saide to haue bene the occasion of all the good that Cicero boasteth hée didde the common weale

of

of Rome? And in case I had sufficient time, I would (may hap) shewe you also, that women haue oftentimes corrected men of many vices: but (I feare me) my talke hath already bene ouerlong and combrous. Therefore since I haue according to my power fulfilled the charge that these Ladies haue given me, I meane to give place to him that shal speake more worthier matters to be heard, then I can. Then the L. Emilia, Do you not deprive (quoth she) women of the true praises due vnto them? And remember though the L. Gaspar, and perchance the L. Octavian too, heare you with noysomenesse, yet do we, and these other Lordes hearken to you with pleasure. Notwithstanding the L. Iulian would there have ended, but all the Lordes began to entreate him to speake. Wherefore he saide laughing: Least I should provoke my L. Gaspar to be mine enemy any more than he is, I wil but briefly tell you of certaine that come into my minde, leaving many that I could recite vnto you. Afterward he proceeded: When Philip, Demetrius sonne, was about the Citie of Scio, and had laide siege to it, he caused to be proclaimed, that what euer bondmen would forsake the Citie and flee to him, he promised them libertie and their maisters wiues. The spight of women for this so shameful a proclamation was such, that they came to the walles with weapons, and fought so fiercely, that in a smal time they drove Philip away with shame and losse, which the men could not doe. Philippus King of Macedonia, son to Demetrius.

The selfesame women being with their husbandes, Fathers, and brethren, that went into banishment, after they came into Leucania, did an act no lesse glorious, then this was. For the Erythians that were there with their federates, made war against these Sciotes, whiche not able to holde out, came to accord, with composition to departe onely in their doublets and shirtes out of the Citie. The women hearing of this so shameful a composition, were much offended, reuiling them, that leaving their weapons, they would issue out like naked men among their enemies. And when they made answere that it was already so conditioned, they willed them to carry their shield & speare, and leaue their cloathes, and answere their enemies that this was their array.

And in so doing, by theyr womens counsaile, they couered a

great parte of the shame, which they could not cleane anoide. Likewise when Cirus had discomfited in a battell the Army of the Persians, as they ranne away, in their fleeing they mette with their women without their gates, who comming to them, saide: Whither flee ye you cowards? Entend ye perhaps to hide you in vs, from whence ye came? These and such like woords the mē hearing, and perceiuing how much in courage they were inferiour to their women, were ashamed of themselues, and returning backe againe to their enemies, fought with them a fresh, and gaue them the ouerthrowe. When the L. Iulian had hitherto spoken, hee stayed, and turning him to the Dutchesse, said: Now (Madam) you will license me to holde my peace. The L. Gaspar answered: It is time to holde your peace, when you know not what to say more. The Lorde Iulian saide smiling: You prouoke mee so, that ye may chaunce bee occupied all night in hearing the praises of women. And yee shall vnderstand of many Spartane women, that much reioyced at the glorious death of their children: and of them that forsoke them, or slew them with their owne hands, when they heard they vsed dastardlinesse. Againe, how the Saguntine women in the destruction of their Countrey, toke weapon in hande against Hannyballes Souldiers. And how the Army of the Dutchmen vanquished by Marius, their women not obtaining their suite to liue free in Rome, in seruice with ỹ virgins Vestalles, killed themselues euery one, with their yong children. And a thousand moe, that all auntient Histories are full of. Then said the Lord Gaspar: Nay (my Lord Iulian) God wotteth how these matters passed, for those times are so farre from vs, that many lyes may be tolde, and none there is that can reproue them. The Lorde Iulian saide: In case you will measure in euery time the worthinesse of women with mens, yee shall finde that they haue neuer bene, nor yet presently are, any whit inferiour to men. For leauing apart those so auntient, if yee come to the time when the Goathes raigned in Italy, yee shall finde that there was a Quéene among them, Amalasunta, that ruled a long while with marueilous wisedome. Afterward Theodolinda, Q. of the Longobardes, of singular vertue, Theodora Em-

The stouthart of women.

Amalasunta.
Theodolinda.
Theodora.

presse

prelle of Greece. And in Italy, among many other was a moſt ſingular Lady, the Counteſſe Matilda, whoſe prayſes I leave to be tolde of Count Lewis, becauſe ſhe was of his houſe. Nay, quoth the Count, it is your part, for you knowe it is not mete that a man ſhould prayſe his owne. The L. Iulian continued on. And how many famous in times paſt find you of this moſt noble houſe of Montefeltro? How many of the houſe of Gonzaga, of Eſte and Pij? In caſe we will ſpeake of the time preſent, we ſhall not nede to ſeeke examples far fet, for we haue them in the houſe. But I will not ſerue my purpoſe with them, whome we ſee in preſence, leaſt ye ſhould ſeeme for courteſie to grant me it, that in no wiſe yee can deny me. And to go out of Italy, remember ye, in our dayes we haue ſeene Anne French Queene, a very great Lady, no leſſe in vertue then in ſtate: and if in iuſtice and mildeneſſe, liberality and holineſſe of life, ye luſt to compare her to the kings Charles and Lewis (which had beene wife to both of them) you ſhal not find her a iot inferiour to them. Behold the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Emperour Maximilian, which with great wiſedome and Iuſtice hitherto hath ruled, and ſtill doth her ſtate.

Counteſſe Matilda.

Vrbin. Mantua. Ferrara.

Anne French Queene.

L. Margaret.

But omitting all other, tell me (my Lord Gaſpar) what King or what Prince hath there beene in our dayes, or yet many yeares before in Chriſtendome, that deſerueth to bee compared to Queene Iſabel of Spayne? The L. Gaſpar anſwered, King Ferdinande her huſbande. The L. Iulian ſaide: This will I not deny. For ſince the Queene thought him a worthy huſbande for her, and loued and obſerued him ſo much, it cannot bee ſayde nay, but he deſerued to be compared to her. And I thinke well the reputation he got by her was a no leſſe dowry then the kingdome of Caſtilia. Nay, anſwered the L. Gaſpar, I beleeue rather of many of King Ferdinandes acts Queene Iſabel boze the praiſe. Then ſayde the L. Iulian: In caſe the people of Spayne, the Nobles, priuate perſons, both men and women, poore and rich, bee not all agreed together to lye in her praiſe, there hath not been in our time in the worlde no more cleare example of true goodnes, ſtoutneſſe of courage, wiſdom, religion, honeſty, courteſie, liberalitie: to be breefe of all vertue, then Queene Iſabel. And where the renowme of that

Iſabel Queene of Spayne.

Praiſe of her.

Lande in euery place, and in all Nations is verie great, they that lined with her, and were present at all her doings, do al affirme this renowne to be sprung of her vertus and defectes. And who so wil weigh her acts, shal soone perceiue the truth to be so. For leauing apart infinite things that make tryall of this, and might be tolde, if it were our purpose, euery man knoweth that in the first beginning of her raigne, she found the greatest part of Castilla possessed by great estates: Yet recouered she the whole againe, so iustly, and in such sort, that they dispossessed themselues, continued in a great good affection, and were willing to make surrender of that they had in possessiō. It is also a most knowne thing with what courage and wisedome shee alwayes defended her realmes from most puissant enemies. And likewise to her alone may be giuen the honor of the glorious conquest of the kingdome of Granado, which in so long and sharpe a warre againste stubborne enemies, that fought for their liuelode, for their life, for their lawe, and to their winning in Gods quarrel, declared euermore with counsel and with her owne person so muche vertue and prowesse, as perhappes in our time fewe Princes haue had the stomeche, not onely to followe her steppes, but to enuy her. Beside this, all that knew her, report that there was in her such a diuine manner of gouernment, that a man woulde haue werned that her wil onely was almoste ynough to make euery man without any more businesse, to do that her ought: so that scarce durst a man in his owne home and in secrete, commit any thing that he suspected would displeasi her. And of this a great part, was cause the wonderful iudgement which she had in knowing and chusing ministers meete for the offices she entended to place them in. And so wel could she ioyne the rigour of Iustice with the mildnesse of mercy and liberalitie, that there was no good person in her dayes that could complaine he had bene euilly rewarded, ne any ill, to soone punished. Wherefore among her people toward her, there sprang a very great reuerence derived of loue and feare, which in all mens myndes remaineth ful so setled, that a man woulde thinke they looked that she should beholde them from Heauen, and there aboue eyther prayse or dispraise them.

them. And therefore with her name, and with the waies which she ordained, those Realmes are still ruled, in such wise, that albeit her life wanteth, yet her authoritie liueth like a whole long swinged about with violence, keeping the same course a good while after of it selfe, though no man moue it any more. Consider you beside this (my L. Gaspar) that in our time all the men of Spaine and renowmed in what euer thing, haue bene made by Queene Isabell. And the great Captaine Gonsaluo Ferdinando was more set by for it, than for all his famous victories, and excellent and courageous actes, that in peace and warre haue made him so notable and famous, that in case fame bee not vnkinde, she will for euer spread abroade to the world his immortall praises, and make proofe that in our age wee haue had fewe Kings or great Princes, that by him haue not bene surmounted in noble courage, knowledge, and all vertue. To returne therefore to Italy, I say vnto you that wee haue not wanted here most excellent Ladies. For in Naples wee haue two Queenes, and not long agoe in Naples likewise dyed the other Queene of Hungary, as excellent a Lady as you knowe any, and to be compared well inough to the mightie and glorious king Mathew Coruin her husband. Likewise the Dutchesse Isabell of Aragon most worthy sister to king Ferdinand of Naples, which as golde in the fire, so in the stormes of fortune hath she shewed her vertue and prowesse. If you will come into Lumbardie, you shal marke the Lady Isabell Marquesse of Mantua, whose most excellent vertues should receiue great wrong in speaking of them so temperately, as who so will speake of them in this place, must be driuen to do. I am sorie moreouer that you all knew not the Dutchesse Beatrice of Millane her sister, that you might neuer againe wonder at a womans wit. And the Dutchesse Elinor of Aragon, Dutchesse of Ferrara, and mother to both these Ladies whom I haue named, was such a one, that her most excellent vertues gaue a good triall to all the worlde, that she was not only a worthy daughter to a king, but also deserued to be a Queene ouer a farre greater state than all her auncestors possessed. And to tell you of an other, how many men know you in the worlde would abide the bitter strokes of fortune so patiently, as Queene Isabell

Ferdinando. Gonsaluo.

Queenes of Naples.

Queene of Hungary.

Dutchesse Isabell of Aragó.

Isabell Marquesse of Mantua.

Dutchesse Beatrice of Millane.

Dutchesse Elinor of Ferrara

Queene Isabell of Naples

Isabell of Naples hath done? Which for all the losse of her kingdome, banishment, and death of king Fridericke her husband, and two sonnes, and imprisonment of the duke of Calabria her eldest, yet still sheweth her selfe a Queene: and so beareth out the miserable inconueniences of wretched pouertie, that euery man may see, though shee hath chaunged fortune, yet hath shee not altered condition. I omit the naming vnto you of infinite other great Ladies, and also women of lowe degree, as many Pisanes that in defence of their Country against ỳ Florentines, haue declared that noble courage without any feare of death, that the most inuincible courages could do that euer were in the worlde: Wherefore certaine of them haue bene renowmed by many noble Poets. I could tell you of certaine most excellent in letters, in musicke, in painting, in carving, but I will not any more goe searching out among these examples, which are most knowne to you all. It sufficeth, that if in your minds ye thinke vpon women whom you your selues know, it shall be no hard matter for you to vnderstand, that they are not most commonly in prowesse or worthinesse inferiour to their fathers, brothers, and husbands: and that many haue bene occasion of goodnes to men, and many times driuen them of many of their vices. And wherof presently there are not found in the worlde those great Queenes that goe to conquer farre Countries, and make great buildings, Pirramides and Cities, as Thomiris Q. of Scithia, Artemisia, Zenobia, Semiramis, or Cleopatra, no more also are there men like vnto Cæsar, Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, and the other noble Romain Captains. Say not so, answered the Philosopher laughing, for presently there are more found like Cleopatra or Semiramis, than euer there were. And though they haue not so many Cities, powers, and riches, yet there wanteth not in them good will to counterfeit them at ỳ least in giuing themselues to pleasure, and fulfilling all their lusts as much as they may. The L. Iulian said: You will euer Philosophe passe your bounder. But in case there be found some Cleopatras, there want not for them infinite Sardanapalles, which is much worse. Make not this comparison quoth the L. Gaspar then, and beleeue not that men are so incontinent as women be: where they were so, yet should it not be worse.

These queens gaue themselues to all their appetites.

Sardanapalus a king in Assiria, monstrous in all kinde of leachetie.

worse. For of ỹ incontinencie of womē arise infinit inconueniences, that do not of mens. And therefore (as it was well saide yesterday) they haue wisely ordained that it may be lawfull for thē to be out of the way without blame in all other things, that they may apply their force to keepe thēselues in this one vertue of chastitie, without the which, children were uncertaine, and the bond that knitteth all the world together by bloud, and by the loue that naturally each man hath to that is borne him, should be losed. Therefore a wanton life in women is lesse to be borne withall than in men, that carrie not their children nine moneths in their body.

Then answered the Lord Iulian: Doubtlesse these be prettie arguments that ye make, I marueil you put them not in writing. But tell mee: For what cause is it ordained that a wanton life should not be so shamefull a matter in men, as in women? Considering if they be by nature more vertuous, and of greater powes, they may also the easilier kéepe themselues in this vertue of continencie, and children should be no more nor lesse certaine: for if women were giuen to wanton liuing, so men were cōtinent, and consented not to the wantonnesse of women, they among themselues, and without any other helpe could not beare children. But if you will tell the truth, you your selfe know, that we haue of our owne authoritie claimed a libertie, whereby we wil haue the selfesame offences in vs very light, and otherwhile worthy praise, and in women not sufficiently to be punished, but with a shamefull death, or at the least euerlasting slaunder. Therefore since this opinion hath taken rote, me thinketh it a méete matter to punish them in like manner sharply, that with lyes bring vp a slaunder vpon women. And I beléeue that euerie worthy Gentleman is bounde to defende alwayes with weapon, where nede requireth the troath, and especially when he knoweth any women falsely reported of, to be of little honestie. And I, answered the Lord Gaspar smiling, do not onely affirme to be euery worthy Gentlemans dutie, that you say, but also take it for great curtesie and honestie, to couer some offence, that by misshappe, or ouermuch loue, a woman is runne into. And thus you may see, that I am more on womens side, where reason beareth me out, than you be. I denie not

The wanton life of men make women vnchaste.

Men haue chalenged a libertie.

that

that men haue taken a little libertie, and that because they knowe by the common opinion, that to them wanton liuing is not so slaunderous as to women, which through the weakenesse of their kinde, are much more enclined to appetites than men: and in case they abstaine otherwhile from satisfying their lustes, they do it for shame, not that will is not most readie in them, and therefore haue men laide vppon them feare of slaunder for a bridle, to keepe them (in a manner) whether they will or no in this vertue, without the which (to say the troath) they were little to bee set by: for the woorke hath no profit by women, but for getting of children. But the like is not of men, which gouerne Cities, Armies, and do so many other waightie matters, the which (since you will so haue it) I will not dispute how women could do, it sufficeth they do it not. And when it was meete for men to make triall of their continencie, as well how they passed women in this vertue as in the rest, although you graunt it not. And about this, will not I rehearse vnto you so many Historyes or fables, as you haue done, I remit you to the continencie onely of two most mightie personages, youthfull, and vpon their victorie, which is wont to make haughtie men of lowest degree. And the one is, the great Alexander toward the most beautifull women of Darius his enemie and discomfited. The other Scipio, vnto whome being 24. yeares of age, and hauing wonne by force a Citie in Spaine, there was brought a most beautifull and noble Damzell taken among many other. And when Scipio vnderstood that shee was affianced to a Lorde of the Countrey, hee did not onely abstaine from all dishonest acte towarde her, but vndesired, restored her to her husband, and a large gift withall. I could tell you of Xenocrates, which was so continent, that a most beautifull woman lying naked by his side, and dallying with him, and vsing all the wayes shee could (in which matters she was very well practised) shee had neuer the power to make him once shewe the least signe of wantonnesse, for all shee beslowed a whole night about it. And of Pericles, that did no more but heare one praise with ouermuch earnestnesse the well fauouredenesse of a boy, and hee tooke him vp sharpely for it. And of many other moste continent of theyr owne

The continencie of Alexander towarde Darius wife and daughters Quint. Curt. lib. 3. Carthago noua.

The cõtinencie of Scipio toward a yong Lady betrothed to Allucius a Lorde among the Celtiberians.

Xenocrates.

Pericles reprehended Sophocles for saying O puerum pulchrũ.

owne free will, and not for shame or feare of punishment, that compelleth the greatest part of women to keepe themselues vpright in this vertue, which notwithstanding deserue much praise withall: and who so falsely bringeth vp of them a slaunderous report of vncleannesse of liuing, is worthy (as you haue saide) very sore punishment. When spake the Lord Cæsar, which had holde his peace a good while: Iudge you in what sort the L. Gaspar speaketh in the dispraise of women, when these are the matters that he speaketh in their praise. But if the Lord Iulian will giue me leaue, that I may in his stead answere him certaine fewe matters, as touching where (in mine opinion) he hath falsely spoken against women, it shall be good for him and me both. For he shall rest him a while, and shall afterwarde the better goe forwarde to speake of some other perfection of the Gentlewoman of the Pallace, and I shall haue a good turne that I haue occasion to execute ioyntly with him, this dutie of a good knight, which is to defend the truth. Marry I beseech ye, answered the L. Iulian, for mee thinke I haue alreadie fulfilled according to my power, that I ought, and this communication is now out of the purpose that I went about. The L. Cæsar then began: I will not now speake of the profit that the world hath by women, beside ỹ bearing of children: for it is well inough declared how necessarie they be, not onely to our being, but also to our well being. But I say (my Lord Gaspar) that in case they bee as you affirme, more enclined to appeties, than men, and notwithstanding abstaine more than men, (which you your selfe graunt) they are so much the more worthy praise, as their kinde is lesse able to withstand naturall appetites. And if you say they doo it for shame, I cannot see but for one vertue you giue them two. For in case shame can doo more in them than appetite, and through it refraine from ill doing, I esteeme this shame (which in conclusion is nothing else but feare of slaunder) a most seldome vertue, and raigning in verie fewe men. And if I could without infinite reproache to men, tell howe manye of them bee drowned in vnshamefastnesse and impudencie (which is the vice contrarie to this vertue) I should infect these deuout eares that heare mee. And for the moste parte of these kinde of

Shame.

iniurious

Iniurious persons to God and nature.

iniurious persons both to God and nature, are men well stricken in yeares, which profesſe some Priesthood, some Philosophie, some Diuinitie, and rule Common weales with such Caroes grauitie in countenance, that it maketh an outward shewe of all the honestie in the woorld, and alwayes alledge women kinde to bee most incontinent, where they at no time finde themselues more agrieued, than at the want of their naturall lustfulnesse, that they may satisfie their abhominable desires, which still abide in the minde after nature hath taken them from their body, and therefore many times finde out waies, where force preuaileth not. But I will not tell farther. It sufficeth for my purpose yee graunt that women abstaine more from vnclean leaning, than men. And sure it is, that they are not kept short with any other bridle, than what they put vpon themselues. And that it is true, the most part of them that bee kept vnder with ouerstraight looking to, or beaten of their husbands or fathers, are lesse chaste, than they that haue some libertie. But generally a great bridle to women, is the zeale of true vertue, and the desire of good name, which many that I haue knowne in my dayes, more esteeme than their owne life. And in case you will tell the truth, euery one of vs hath seene most noble young men, discreete, wise, of prowes, and well fauoured, spend many yeares in louing, sparing for nothing that might entice, tokens, suites, or teares: to be short, whatsoeuer may bee imagined, and all but lost labour. And if it might not be tolde mee that my conditions neuer deserued I should bee beloued, I would alledge my selfe for a witnesse, which more than once through the vnchaungeable and ouersteadfast honestie of a woman, was nigh deathes dore.

Zeale of true vertue, and good report.

The Lord Gaspar answered: Marueil you not thereat, for women that are sued to, alwayes refuse to fulfill his request that sueth to them, but those that are not sued to, sue to others. The L. Cæsar saide: I neuer knew them that haue beene sued to by women, but many there be, that perceiuing they haue attempted in vaine, and spent their time fondly, renue to this noble reuenge, and say that they had plentie of the thing which they did but call in their minde. And to their weeting, to report ill, and to studie

Slaunderous persons of womens honestie.

for

for inuentions how to bring by slaunderous tales of some worthy Gentlewoman, is a kinde of Courtiers. But these kinde of persons that knauishly make their vaunt of any woman of price, be it true or false, deserue very sore correction and punishment. And if it bee otherwhile bestowed vpon them, it cannot bee saide, how much they are to be commended that doo this office. For in case they tell lyes, what mischiefe can be greater than to take from a worthy woman with guile the thing which she more esteemeth than her life? And no other cause but that ought to make her renowmed with infinite praises. If againe it bee true that they say, what paine can suffice so traiterous a person, that rendereth such ingratitude in recompence to a Gentlewoman, which wonne with his false flatterings, faigned teares, continuall suites, bewailings, crafts, deceites, and periuries, hath suffered her selfe to be ledde to loue ouermuch afterward without respect, hath giuen her selfe vnheedfully for a pray to so wicked a spirit? But to answere you, beside this wonderfull continencie of Alexander and Scipio, which you haue alledged, I say, that I will not denie, but each of them did a deede worthie much praise. Notwithstanding, least ye should say, that in rehearsing to you auntient matters, I told you fables, I will alledge a woman of our time of base degree, who notwithstanding shewed a farre greater cõtinencie than any of these two great estates. I say vnto you therefore, that I knew once a well fauoured and tender young woman, whose name I tell you not, for giuing matter to many leaud persons to report ill, which as soone as they vnderstande a woman to bee in loue, make an ill descanting vppon it. Shee therefore beloued of a worthy and faire conditioned young Gentleman, was bent with heart and minde to loue him. And of this not I alone, vnto whome of her owne accorde shee discouered truelye the whole matter, no otherwise than if I had beene, I will not say a brother, but an inward sister of hers, but all that beheld her in company of the beloued young man, were well weeting of her passion. Shee thus feruently loning, as a most loning minde could loue, continued two yeares in such continencie, that shee neuer made anye token to this young man of the loue that shee

An example of true continencie.

boze him, but such as she could not hide from him. At no time she would speake with him, noz receiue any Letters from him, oz tokens, where there neuer passed day, but she was tempted with both the one and the other. And how she longed foz it, that woot I well, foz if otherwhile shee could priuily get any thing that had beene the young mans, shee was so tender ouer it, that a man would haue thought that of it had sprung her life and all her ioye. Yet would shee neuer in so long a time content him with other, than to beholde him, and be seene of him againe, and sometime happening to bee at open feastes, daunce with him as she did with others. And because there was no great difference in their degree, she and the young man coueted that so great a loue might haue a luckie ende, and be man and wife together. All the men and women in the Cittie desired the same, saning her cruell father, which of a wayward and strange opinion, minded to bestowe her vpon an other more wealthy. And this was not by the vnluckie maiden otherwise gainsaid, than with most bitter teares. And after this vnfortunate marriage was concluded with great compassion of the people there, and dispaire of the poore louers, yet did not this stroke of fortune serue to rote vp so grounded a lone in the heart of each other, but lasted afterwards the terme of three yeares, albeit she full wisely dissembled it, and sought euery way to cutte in sunder those desires, which now were all hope. And in this while she followed on still in her set purpose of continencie, and perceiuing she could not honestly haue him whom she worshipped in the worlde, she chose not to haue him at all, and continued in her wont, not to accept messages, tokens, noz yet his letters. And in this resolued determination the lady soule vanquished with most cruell affliction, and waxed through long passion very faint, at the three yeares end dyed. What would she forgo her contentations & pleasures so much longed foz, finally her life, than her honestie. And yet wanted she no meanes noz waies to fulfil her desire most secretly, and without perill either of slaunder, oz any other losse. And foz all that, restrained she from the thing of her self that she so much coueted, and foz the which she was so continually attempted by the person whom aboue all in y world her desire was to please.

And

And to this was she not driuen for feare or any other respect, but onely for the zeale of true vertue. What will you say of another that for fiue monethes almost nightly lay with a most deare louer of hers, yet in a garden full of most sauorie fruites, tempted with her owne most feruent longing, and with the petitions and teares of him that was more deare to her, then her owne selfe, refrayned from tasting of them. And for all she was wrapped and tyed in the straight Chaine of those beloued armes, yet neuer yelded she her selfe as vanquished, but preserued vndefiled the flowre of her honestie. Another example of a mayden.

Know you not (my L. Gaspar) that these be deeds of continency alike to Alexanders? Which most feruently inamored not with the women of Darius, but with this renowne and greatnesse, that pricked him forward with the spurres of glory, to abide paines and dangers to make himselfe immortall, set at nought, not only other things, but his owne life, to get a name aboue all men? And do we maruell with such thoughts in his heart, that he refrayned from a thing which he coueted not greatly? For since he neuer saw those women before, it is not possible that he should be in loue with them at a blush, but rather perhaps abhorred them for Darius, his enemies sake. And in this case euery wanton act of his toward them, had beene an iniury and not loue. And therefore no great matter if Alexander, which no lesse with noblenes of courage, then martial prowesse, subdued the world, abstained frō doing iniury to women. The continency in like case of Scipio, is doubtles much to be commended, yet if ye cōsider well, not to be compared to these two womens: for he in like maner also refrained from a thing ỹ he coueted not, being in his enemies cōtrey, a fresh Captaine, in ỹ beginning of a most weighty enterprise, leauing behind him in his Countrie, such expectatiō of himselfe, and hauing beside to giue account to rigorous Iudges, ỹ oftentimes chastised not only ỹ great but ỹ least offences of all, among thē he will wel he had enemies, knowing also if he had other wise done, because she was a noble damsell, and espoused to a noble man, he should haue purchased him so many enemies, and in such sort, that many would haue driuen off, and perchance haue set him cleane beside his victory. Why for so ma- Scipio.

ny respectes and so weightie, he abstained from a light and hurtful appetite, in shewing continencie and a fre harted welmeaning, the which (as it is written) got him all the hearts of that people: and an other armie stod him in steade with fauour to vanquish mens hearts, which perhappes by force of armes had bene inuincible. So that this may rather be termed a warlike policie, than pure continency: Albeit beside, the report of this matter is not al of the purest: for some writers of authoritie affirme, that this Damzel was enioyed of Scipio in the pleasures of loue: and of this I tell you, ye may depose vppon. Phrisio saide: Perhappes ye haue founde it in the Gospell. I haue seene it my selfe, answered the L. Cæsar, and therefore I haue a muche more certaintie of this, than you or any man else can haue, that Alcibiades arose no otherwise from Socrates bed than children do from their fathers bed: for to say the truth, a straunge place and time was bed and night to view with fired minde the pure beautie whiche is saide Socrates loued without any vnhoneste desire, especially loning better the beautie of the minde, than of the bodie: but in boyes, not in olde men, for all they were wiser. And in good soth a better example could not haue bene picked out to praise the continencie of men, than this is of Xenocrates, which occupied in his study fastned & bound by his profession, which is Philosophie that consisteth in good manners & not in wordes, olde, cleane spent of his natural instincte, nothing able, no not in making proffer to be able, refrained from a common haunted woman, whiche for the names sake might abhorre him. I would soner haue beleeued he had bin continent, if he had declared any token to haue bin come to his right sences again, and in ỳ case haue vsed continencie: or else abstained from the thing which olde men couet more than the battayles of Venus, namely from wine. But to establish wel continencie in old age, it is written, ỳ he was full and laden with it. And what can be said to be more wider from the continencie of an olde man, than drunkennesse? And in case the shunning of Venus matters in that slow and colde age deserueth so much praise, how much should it deserue in a tender mayden, as those two I haue tolde you of? Of which the one most straightly bridling all her sences, not only denied her eyes their light, but al-

Gn Nœuius Val. Antiates.

Alcibiades was Socrates scholler, the welfauoredst yong boye in all Athens.

Xenocrates.

Lais of Corinth.

Olde men desirous of wine.

so

so take from the heart those thoughts, which alone had bin a meate sweet swde a long time to kepe him in life. The other feruently in loue, being so oftentimes alone in the armes of him whome she loued more a great deale then al the world beside, fighting against her owne selfe, and against him that was more deere to her then her owne self, ouercame that feruent desire, that many times hath and doth ouercome so many wise men. Trowe ye not nowe (my L. Gaspar) that writers may be ashamed to make mention of Xenocrates in this case, and to recken him for chaste? Whereof if a man could come by the knowledge of it, I would lay a wager that hee slept al that night vntil the next day dinner time, like a dead bodye buried in wine: and for al the stirring that women made, couldc not once open his eyes, as though he had beene cast into a dead sleepe. Here al the men and women laughed, and the L. Emilia, surely my L. Gaspar (quoth she) if you will bethinke your selfe a little better, I beleeue you shall finde out some other pretty example of continency alike vnto this. The L. Cæsar answered: Is not this other (think yee Madam) a goodly example of cõtinency which he hath alledged of Pericles? I muse much that he hath not aswell called to rehearsall the continency and piety saying that is written of him, that a woman asked to great a summe for one night, and hee answered her, ỹ He minded not to buy repentance so deer. They ceased not laughing, and the L. Cæsar after he had staied a while, my L. Gaspar (quoth hee) pardon me, if I tell troth. For in conclusion these be the wonderful continencies that men write of themselues, accusing women for incontinent, in whom are daily seene infinite tokens of cõtinency. And certes if ye ponder it aright, there is no fortresse so impregnable, nor so well fensed ỹ being assaulted with the thousandth part of the engins and guiles that are practised to conquere the steady mind of a woman, wouldc not yeld vp at the first assault. How many trained vp by great estates & enriched through thẽ & aduaunced to great promotion, hauing in their handes their fortresses, holds & Castles, wherupon depended their whole state, their life, & al their goods, without shame or care to be named Traitors, haue disloially giuen thẽ to whom they ought not? And would God in our dayes there were such scarcitie of these kinde of

Demosthenes answere to Lais of Corinth that asked him 14 li. for one night.

Traytors.

persons, that we might not haue much more a do to find out some one, that in this case hath done that he ought, then to name such as haue failed therein. See you not so many other that dayly wander about to kill men in thickets, and roming by sea, onely to robbe mens money? How many Prelates make Marchandise with the goods of the Church of God? How many Lawyers falsifie testaments? What periuries make they? How many false euidences onely to get money? How many Phisitions poyson the diseased onely for it? How many againe for feare of death do most vile matters? And yet all these so stiffe and hard battels, doth a tender and delicate yong womã gainst and many times: for sundry there haue bin, that haue chosen rather to dye, then to lose their honestie. Then said the L. Gaspar: These (my Lord Cæsar) be not I beleeue, in the world now a dayes. The Lord Cæsar answered: And I will not alleage vnto you them of olde time. But this I say, that many might be found out, and are dayly, that in this case passe not for death.

Phecues.

Prelates. Lawyers.

Phisitions.

Examples of the Chastity of women.

And now it commeth into my mind, that when Capua was sacked by the French men, which is not yet so long since, but you may full well beare it in mind) a well fauored yong gentlewomã of Capua, being led out of her house where she had bene taken by a cõpany of Gascoignes, when she came by the riuer that runneth by Capua, she fayned to plucke on her shoe, in somuch that her leader let her go a little, and she straight way threw her selfe into the riuer. What will you say of a poore countrey Wench, that not many monethes agoe at Gazuolo beside Mantua, gone into the field a leazing with a sister of hers, fore a thirst, entred into a house to drinke water, where the good man of the house, that was yong, seeing her meetly well fauoured, and alone, taking her in his armes, first with faire words, afterward with threatnings, attempted to frame her to do his pleasure, and where she striued more obstinately, at length with many blowes, and by force ouercame her. She thus tossed and sobbing, returned into the fielde to her sister, and for all the instance that she made vpon her, would neuer disclose to her, what outrage shee receiued in that house, but still drawing homewarde, and shewing her selfe appeased, by little

Varino.

and

and little, and to speake without disturbance, she gaue her certaine instructions. Afterward when she came to the Olio, which is the riuer that runneth by Gazuolo, keeping her somewhat aloofe from her sister, that knew not, nor imagined that shee minded to doe, so dainely cast her selfe into it. Her sister sorrowfull and weeping, followed downe by the riuers side, as fast as shee could, which carried her a good pace away, and euery time the poore soule appeared aboue water, her sister threw in to her a corde that she had brought with her to binde the corne withall. And for all the cord came to her hands more then once (for she was yet nigh inough the banke) the stedfast and resolued gyrle alwayes refused it, and pushed it from her. And thus shunning all succour that might saue her life, in a short space died. Shee was neither stirred by noblenes of bloud, nor by feare of death or slaunder, but only by the griefe of her lost maidenhead.

Now by this you may gather, how many other women do deeds most worthy memory, since (as a man may say) three dayes agoe this hath made such a triall of her vertue, and is not spoken of, ne yet her name known. But had not the death followed at that time of the Bishop of Mantua vncle to our Dutchesse, the banke of the Olio in the place where shee cast her selfe in, had now beene garnished with a very fair sepulture, for a memory of so glorious a soule, that deserued so much the more cleare renowne after death, as in like it dwelled in a vnnoble body. Here the Lord Cæsar tooke respit a while, afterward he set forward: In my dayes also in Rome there happened a like chaunce, and it was, that a wel fauoured and well borne yong Gentlewoman of Rome, being long followed after of one that shewed to loue her greatly, would neuer please him with any thing, no not so much as a looke. So that this fellowe by force of money corrupted a waiting woman of hers, who desirous to please him, to finger more money, was in hand with her mistresse, vpon a day, no great holyday, to goe visite Saint Sebastians Church: And giuing the louer intelligence of the whole, and instructing him what he had to doe, led the yong Gentlewoman into one of the darke Caues vnder grounde, that who so goe to Saint Sebastians are wont to visit. And in it was the young man

A chance that happened to a gentlewoman in Rome.

One of the 7. Churches of Rome two miles without the Cite.

first closely hid, which perceiuing him selfe alone with her whom hee loued so much, began euery way to exhort her with as fayre language as he could, to haue compassion vpon him, & to chaunge her former rigour into loue. But when he saw all his prayers could take none effect, he turned him to threatnings. And when they preuailed not, hee all to beate her. In the ende hee was full and wholy bent to haue his purpose, if not otherwise, by force, and therein vsed the helpe of the naughtie woman that had brought her thither. Yet coulde hee neuer doo so muche as make her graunt to him, but in woordes and deedes (although her force was but small) alwaies the sely young woman defended her selfe in what shee coulde possible. So that what for the spight hee conceiued when hee sawe hee could not get his wil, and what for feare least the matter should come to her kinsfolkes eare, and make him punished for it, this mischieuous person with the aide of the woman that doubted the same, strangled the vnluckie young woman, and there left her, and running his way, prouided for himselfe for being found out again. The waiting-woman blinded with her owne offence, wist not to flee, and being taken vpon certaine suspitions, confessed the whole matter, and was therefore punished according to her deserts. The bodie of the constante and noble Gentlewoman with great honour was taken out of the caue and carried to buriall within Rome, with a garland of Laurel about her head, accompanied with an infinit number of men and women: among whiche was not one that brought his eyes to his home againe without teares. And thus generally of all the people was this rare soule no lesse bewayled then commended. But to tell you of them that you your selfe knowe, remember you not that ye haue heard tel, as the Lady Fœlix della Rouere was on her iourney to Sacona, doubting least certain sailes that were descried a farre off, had bene Pope Alexanders Vesselles that pursued her, was vterly resolued, if they had made towarde her, and no remedie to escape, to caste her selfe into the Sea. And this is not to be thought that shee did it vppon any lightnesse, for you as wel as any man, doe knowe with what a witte and wisedome the singular beautie of that Ladie is accompanied. I can no longer kepe in silence

Lady Fœlix della rouere.

lence a worde of our Dutchesse, who liuing fifteene yeares in company with her husbande, like a widowe, hath not only beene stedfast in not vttering this to any person in the worlde, but also when shee was perswaded by her owne friendes to forsake this widowhead, shee chose rather to suffer banishment, pouertie, and all other kinde of miserie, than to agree to that, which all other men thought great fauour and prosperitie of fortune. And as he stil proceeded in talking of this, the Dutchesse saide: Speake of somewhat else, and no more adoo in this matter, for ye haue other things inough to talke of. The L. Cæsar followed on. Ful wel I knowe that you wil not denie me this (my L. Gaspar) nor you Phrisio. No doubtlesse, answered Phrisio: but One maketh no number. Then saide the L. Cæsar: Truth it is that these so greate effectes and rare vertues are seene in fewe women: Yet are they also that resist ẏ battels of loue, all to be wondred at, and such as otherwhile be ouercome deserue much compassion. For surely the prouocations of louers, the craftes that they vse, the snares that they laie in waite are such, and so applied, that it is too great a wonder, that a tender girle should escape them. What day, what houre passeth any time that the young woman thus laide at is not tempted by her Louer with money, tokens, and all things that hee can imagine may please her? At what time can she euer looke out at a windowe, but she seeth continually the earnest Louer passe by? With silence in words, but with a paire of eyes that talks. With a vexed and fainte countenance. With those kindled sighes. Oftentimes with moste aboundant teares. When doth she at any time issue out at her doores to Church or any other place, but he is alwaies in the face of her? And at euery turning of a lane meeteth her in the teeth, with heauie passion painted in his eyes, that a man woulde weene that euen at that instant hee were readie to die? I omit his precisenesse in sundrie thinges, inuentions, merry conceites, vndertaking enterprises, sportes, dances, games, maskaries, iusts, turnaments; the whiche thinges she knoweth all to bee taken in hand for her sake. Againe, in the night time she can neuer awake, but shee heareth musicke, or at the least that vnquiet spirite about the walles of her house, casting forth sighes and lamentable voi-

Praise of the Dutches that leade a widowes life with the Duke

The carefull diligence of Louers.

ces. Why a hap she talketh with one of her wayting women about her, shée (being alreadie corrupted with money) hath straight way in a readinesse some pretie token, a Letter, a rime, or some such matter to present her in the Louers behalfe, & here entring to purpose, maketh her to vnderstand how this lusty soule burneth, how hée setteth little by his owne life, to do her seruice, and how hée seeketh nothing of her but honestie, and that only his desire is to speak with her. Heere then for all hard matters are found out remedies, counterfete keyes, ladders of ropes, wayes to cast into sléepe, a trifling matter is painted out, examples are alleaged of others that do much worse: so that euery matter is made so easie, that shée hath no more trouble, but to say, I am content. And in case the poore soule make resistance but a while, they plye her with such prouocations, and finde such meanes, that with continuall beating at, they breake in sunder that is a let to her. And many there be, that perceiuing they cannot preuaile with faire woords, fall to threatenings, and say that they wil tel their husbands they are, that they are not. Other bargaine boldly with the fathers, and many times with the husbandes, which for promotions sake giue their owne daughters and wiues for a praie against their will. Other séeke by Inchauntmentes and Witchcraftes to take from them the libertie that God hath graunted to soules, wherein are séene wonderfull conclusions. But in a thousande yeare I coulde not repeate all the craftes that men vse to frame women to their willes, which be infinite. And beside them which euery man of himselfe findeth out, there hath not also wanted that hath wittily made bookes, and bestowed great studie to teache howe in this behalfe women are to bee deceiued. Now iudge you howe from so many nettes these simple doues can be safe, tempted with so sweete a bayte. And what greater matter is it then, in case a woman knowing her selfe so muche beloued and worshipped many yeares together, of a noble and faire conditioned young man, whiche a thousand times a day hazardeth his life to serue her, & neuer thinketh vpon other but to please hir with the continual beating which the water maketh when it pierceth the most hard marble stone, at length is brought to loue him? Is this (thinke you) so haynous a trespasse,

treſpaſſe, that the ſelly poore creature taken with ſo many entice-
ments, deſerueth not, if the worſt ſhould fall, the pardon that ma-
ny times murtherers, theeues, fellons and traytors haue? Will
you haue this vice ſo vncomparable great, that becauſe one wom-
is founde to runne into it, all womenkinde ſhould be cleane diſpi-
ſed for it, and generally counted voide of continencie? Not regar-
ding that many are founde moſt inuincible, that againſt the con-
tinuall flickering prouocations of loue are made of Diamondes,
and ſtiffe in their infinite ſteadineſſe, more than the rockes, againſt
the ſurges of the ſea. Then the L. Gaſpar when the L. Cæſar ſtaied
talking, began to make him anſwere, but the L. Octauian ſmiling:
Mary for loue of God (quoth he) graunt him the victorie, for I
know ye ſhall doo ſmall good, and me thinke I ſee you ſhall not
onely make all the women your enemies, but alſo the more part
of the men. The Lord Gaſpar laughed, and ſaid: Nay, the women
haue rather great cauſe to thanke me. For had not I contraried
the L. Iulian and the L. Cæſar, they ſhould not haue come to the
knowledge of ſo many praiſes as they haue giuen them. Then ſaid
the Lord Cæſar: The praiſes which my Lorde Iulian and I haue
giuen women, and many moe beſide, were moſt knowne, there-
fore they haue bene but ſuperfluous. Who wotteth not that
without women no contentation or delight can bee felt in all this Women.
life of ours? which (ſet them aſide) were rude, and without all
ſweetenelle, and rougher than the life of foreſt wilde beaſtes? Who
knoweth not that women rid our hearts of all vile and baſtard-
ly imaginations, veratious, miſeries, and the troubleſome hea-
vineſſe that ſo oftentimes accompanieth them? And in caſe
wee will conſider the truth, we ſhall know moreouer, as touching
the vnderſtanding of great matters, that they doo not ſtray our
wittes, but rather quicken them, and in warre make men paſt
feare, and hardie paſſing meaſure. And certes it is not poſſible, that The operati-
in ỹ hart of man, where once is entred ỹ flame of loue, there ſhould ons of loue.
at any time raigne cowardlineſſe. For he that loueth, alwayes
coueteth to make himſelfe as louely as hee can, and euermore
dreadeth that hee take no foyle, that ſhould make him little ſet
by, of whom hee deſireth to be much ſet by; and paſſeth not to goe

a thou-

a thousand times in a day to his death, to declare himselfe worthy of that loue. Therefore who so could gather an Army of louers, ỹ should fight in the presence of the Ladies they loued, should subdue the whole worlde, vnlesse against it, on the contrary parte, there were an other Armie likewise in loue. And to abide by, the holding out of Troy tenne yeares against all Greece, proceaded of nothing else but of certaine Louers, which when they entended to issue out abroade to fight, serued themselues in the presence of their Ladies, and many times they helped them themselues, and at their setting forth, founded them some certaine worde, that set them on fire, and made them more than men. Afterwarde in fighting they wist well that they were beholde from the walles and the Tower by the Ladies, wherefore they deemed euery bolde enterprise that they vndertoke, was commended of them, which was the greatest reward to them, that they could haue in the worlde. Many there be that holde opinion that the victorie of king Ferdinand & Isabell of Spaine, against the king of Granada, was chiefly occasioned by women: for the most times when the Army of Spaine marched to encounter with the enemies, Quéne Isabel set forth also with all her Damzels: and there were many noble Gentlemen that were in loue, who till they came within sight of the enemies, alwaies went communing with their Ladies. Afterward each one taking his leaue of his, in their presence marched on to encounter with the enemies, with that fiercenesse of courage, that loue and desire to shewe their Ladies that they were serued with valiaunt men, gaue them. Whereupon it befell many times, that a very fewe Gentlemen of Spaine put to flight and slew an infinite number of Moores, thanked be the courteous and beloued women. Therfore I wot not (my Lord Gaspar) what wayward iudgement hath lead you to dispraise women. Do you not see that of all comely exercises and which delight the worlde, the cause is to bee referred to no earthly thing, but to women? Who learneth to daunce featly for other, but to please women? Who applyeth the sweetenesse of musicke for other cause, but this? Who to write in meeter, at the least in the mother tongue, but to expresse the affections caused by women? Iudge you how many

Why Troy withstood all Greece tenne yeares.

Women the cause of the cõquest of the kingdome of Granata.

Women the cause of worthy qualities.

many moſt noble Poems we had bene without both in Greeke and Latine, had women bene ſmally regarded of Poets. But in leauing all other apart, had it not bene a very great loſſe, in caſe M. Francis Petrarca, that writ ſo diuinely his loues in this our tongue, had applyed his minde onely to Latin matters: as hee would haue done, had not the loue of the Damzel Laura ſometime ſtrayed him from it? I name not vnto you the fine wits that are now in the worlde, and here preſent, which daylye bring forth ſome noble fruite, and notwithſtanding take their grounde onely of the vertue and beautie of women. See whether Salomon minding to write myſticallye verye highe and heauenlye matters, to couer them with a gratious vaile, did not faine a feruent Dialogue, full of the affection of a Louer with his woman, ſeeming to him that hee could not finde heere beneath among vs, any likeneſſe more meete and agreeing with heauenlye matters, than the loue towarde women: and in that wiſe, and manner, minded to giue vs a little of the ſmacke of that diuinitie, whiche hee both for his vnderſtanding, and for the grace aboue others, had knowledge of. Therefore this needed no diſputation (my Lorde Gaſpar) or at the leaſt ſo many wordes in the matter. But you in gaineſaying the truth, haue hindred the vnderſtanding of a thouſand other prettie matters, and neceſſarie for the perfection of the gentlewoman of the Pallace. The Lord Gaſpar anſwered: I beleeue there can no more be ſaid. Yet if you ſuppoſe that the L. Iulian hath not garniſhed her throughly with good conditions, the fault is not in him, but in him that hath ſo wrought ỹ there are no moe vertues in the world: for all that there be, he hath beſtowed vpon her. The Dutcheſſe ſmiling, ſaid: Well, you ſhall ſee that the L. Iulian will yet finde out moe beſide. The L. Iulian anſwered: In good ſooth (Madam) me ſeemeth I haue ſufficiently ſpoken. And for my part, I am well pleaſed with this my woman. And in caſe theſe Lords will not haue her as ſhe is, let them leaue her to me.

Francisco Petrarca.

Salomon.

Here when all was whiſt, Sir Fridericke ſaide: My Lorde Iulian, to giue you occaſion to ſay ſomewhat elſe, I will but aſke you a queſtion, as touching that you haue willed to bee

Entertainmẽt.

the

the principall profession of the Gentlewoman of the Pallace. And this it is, that I long to know how she should behaue her selfe in a point that (to my seeming) is most necessarie. For albeit the excellent qualities which you haue giuen her, containe in them discretion, knowledge, iudgement, slight, sober mode, and so many other vertues, whereby of reason she ought to haue the vnderstanding to entertaine euerie man, and in all kinde of purpose, yet thinke I notwithstanding aboue any other thing, that is requisite for her to know what belongeth to communication of loue. For euen as euerie honest Gentleman for an instrument to obtaine the good will of women, practiseth those noble exercises, precise fashions, and good maunners which we haue named, euen so to this purpose applyeth hée also his words, and not only when he is stirred therto by some passion, but oftentimes also to do honour to the woman he talketh withall, seeming to him, that to declare to loue her, is a witnesse that she is worthy of it, and that her beautie and worthinesse is such, that it enforceth euery man to serue her. Therefore would I knowe, how this woman in such a case should behaue her selfe vprightly, and how to answere him that loueth her indéede, and how him that maketh false semblant: and whether she ought to dissemble the vnderstanding of it, or be answerable, or shunne the matter, and how to handle her selfe. Then said the Lord Iulian: It were first néedfull to teach her to know them that make semblant to loue, and them that loue indéede. Afterwarde, for being answerable to loue or no, I beléeue she ought not to be guided by any other mans will, but by her owne selfe. Sir Fridericke said: Teach you her then what are the most certaine and surest tokens to discerne false loue from true, and what triall she shall thinke sufficient to content her selfe withall, to be out of doubt of the loue shewed her.

To talke of loue.

The Lord Iulian answered smiling: What wot not I, because men be now a dayes so craftie, that they make infinite false semblauntes, and sometime weepe, when they haue indéede a greater lust to laugh, therefore they should be sent to the constant Ile vnder the Arch of faithfull Louers. But least this woman of

mine

mine (whiche is my charge and no mans elſe, becauſe ſhée is my creature) ſhould runne into thoſe errours which I haue ſéene many other runne into, I would ſay that ſhée ſhould not be light of credence that ſhe is beloued: nor be like vnto ſome, that not only make wiſe they vnderſtand him not that communeth with them of loue, be it neuer ſo farre off, but alſo at the firſt worde accept all the prayſes that be giuen them: or elſe denie them after ſuche a ſorte, that is rather an alluring for them to loue them they commune withall, than a withdrawing of themſelues. Therefore the maner of entertainment in reaſoning of loue that I wil haue my women of the Pallaice to vſe, ſhall be alwayes to ſhunne beléeuing that who ſo talketh of loue, loueth her any whitte the more. And in caſe the Gentleman be (as many ſuche there are abroad, malapert, and hath ſmall reſpect to her in his talke, ſhée ſhall ſhape him ſuche an anſwere, that hée ſhall plainely vnderſtand ſhée is not pleaſed withall. Againe, if hée be demure and vſeth ſober faſhions and wordes of loue couertly, in ſuch honeſt manner, as I beléeue the Courtier whom theſe Lordes haue faſhioned wil do, the woman ſhall make wiſe not to vnderſtande him, and ſhall drawe his wordes to an other ſenſe, ſeeking alwayes ſoberlye with the diſcretion and wiſedome that is alreadie laide becommeth her, to ſtraie from that purpoſe. But in caſe the communication be ſuche that ſhée cannot faine not to vnderſtande it, ſhée ſhal take the whole (as it were) for a merie deuiſe, and make wiſe that ſhée knoweth it is ſpoken to her, rather to honour her withall, than that it is ſo indéede, debating her deſerts, and acknowledging at the Gentlemans conteſte the prayſes whiche hée giueth her: and in this ſorte ſhée ſhal bee counted diſcréete, and ſhal be on the ſurer hand for being deceiued. Thus méemeth the Gentlewoman of the Palaice ought to behaue her ſelfe in communication of loue. Then Sir Fridericke: You debate this matter, my L. Iulian (quoth he) as though it were requiſite, that all ſuch as ſpeake with women of loue, ſhoulde tel lyes, and ſéeke to deceiue them, the whiche in caſe it were ſo, I woulde ſay your leſſons were good. But if this Gentleman that entertaineth, loueth in very déede, and feeleth the paſſion that ſo tormenteth mennes heartes

ſometime,

sometime, consider you not in what paine, in what calamitie and death yée put him in, when at no time you will that the woman shall beléeue him in any thing he saith about this purpose? Shall othes, teares, and so many other tokens then, haue no force at all? Take héede (my L. Iulian) least a man may thinke that beside the naturall cruelltie which many of these women haue in them, you teach them yet more. The Lord Iulian answered: I haue spoken, not of him that loueth, but of him that entertaineth with communication of loue, wherein one of the necessariest pointes is, that wordes be neuer to séeke: and true louers as they haue a burning heart, so haue they a cold tongue, with broken talke & sudden silence: Therefore (may hap) it were no false principle to say: Hee that loueth much, speaketh little. Howbeit in this I beléeue there can be giuen no certaine rule, by reason of the diuersitie of mens maners. And I wot not what I should say, but that the woman bée good and héedfull, and alwayes beare in mind, that men may with a great deale lesse danger declare themselues to loue, than women. The L. Gaspar laughing, saide: Why (my L. Iulian) will not you that this your so excellent a woman shall loue againe, at the least when she knoweth certainly she is beloued, considering if ỳ Courtier were not loued againe, it is not likely hée would continue in louing her, and so should she want many fauours, and chiefly the homage and reuerence, wherwithall louers obey, and (in a maner) worship the vertue of the woman beloued. In this, answered the Lord Iulian, I wil not counsel her. But I say perdé to loue, as you now vnderstand, I iudge it not méet, but for vnmaried women. For when this loue cannot ende in matrimonie, the woman must néedes haue alwayes the remorse and pricking that is had of vnlawfull matters, and she putteth in hazard to staine the renowme of honestie, that standeth her so much vpon. Then answered sir Fridericke smiling: We thinke (my L. Iulian) this opinion of yours is very soure and crabbed, and I beléeue you haue learned it of some Frier Preacher, of them that rebuke women in loue with lay men that their part may be the more. And me séemeth you sette ouerhard lawes to married women, for many there bée that their Husbandes beare very sore hatred vnto without cause,

Married women.

and

and nippe them at the heart, sometime in louing other women, otherwhile in working them all the displeasures they can imagin. Some are compelled by their fathers, to take olde men ful of diseases, loathsome and wayward, that make them leade their life in continuall miserie. And in case it were lawfull for such to be diuorced and seuered from them they be ill coupled withall, perhaps it were not to be allowed that they should loue any other than their Husband. But when either through ỹ starres, their enemies, or through the diuersitie of complexion, or any other casualtie, it befalleth that in bed, which ought to be the nest of agreement and loue, the cursed furie of hell soweth the seede of his venime, which afterwarde bringeth forth disdaine, suspition, and the pricking thornes of hatred, that tormenteth those vnluckie soules bounde cruelly together in the fast lincked chaine, that cannot be broken but by death, why will not you haue it lawfull for this woman to seeke some easement for so hard a scourge, and giue vnto an other that which her husband not only regardeth not, but rather cleane abhorreth? I holde well, that such as haue merte husbandes, and be beloued of them, ought not to do them iniurie: but the other in not louing him that loueth them, do themselues iniurie. Nay, they do themselues iniurie in loving other beside their Husbande, answered the Lord Iulian. Yet since not loning is not many times in our will, if this mishap chaunce to the woman of the Pallace, that the hatred of her husband, or the loue of an other, bendeth her to loue, I will haue her to graunt her loner nothing else but the minde: nor at any time to make him any certaine token of loue, neither in worde nor gesture, nor any other way that may be fully assured of it. Then saide maister Robert of Bari smiling, I appeale (my Lord Iulian) from this iudgement of yours, and I beleeue I shall haue many fellowes. But since you will teach this curtishnesse (that I may terme it so) to married women, will yée also haue the vnmarried to be so cruell and discurteous? and not please their Louers, at the least in somewhat? In case my woman of the Pallace, answered the Lord Iulian, be not married, minding to loue, I will haue her to loue one, whome she may marrie, neither will I thinke it an offence if she shewe him some

How maides should loue.

token

token of loue. In which matter I will teach her one generall rule in fewe wordes, & that is, That she shewe him whom she loueth all tokens of loue, but such as may bring into the louers minde a hope to obtain of her, any dishoneſt matter. And to this she muſt haue a great reſpect, becauſe it is an error that infinit women run into, which ordinarily couet nothing ſo much, as to be beautifull: and becauſe to haue many louers, they ſuppoſe is a teſtimonie of their beautie, they do their beſt to winne them as many as they can. Therefore oftentimes they runne at louers in behauiours of ſmall modeſtie, and leauing the temperate ſober mode that is ſo ſightly in them, vſe certaine wanton countenances, with bandie words and geſtures full of vnſhamefaſt neſſe, holding opinion that men marke them and giue eare to them willingly for it, and with theſe faſhions make themſelues beloued, which is falſe: becauſe the ſignes and tokens that bee made them, ſpring of an appetite moued by an opinion of eaſineſſe, not of loue. Therefore will not I that my woman of the pallace with diſhoneſt behauiours ſhould appeare as though ſhee would offer her ſelfe vnto who ſo will haue her, and allure what ſhe can the eyes and affection of who ſo beholdeth her: but with her deſertes and vertuous conditions, with amiableneſſe and grace driue into the minde of who ſo ſeeth her, the very loue that is due vnto euery thing worthy to bee beloued, and the reſpect that alwayes taketh away hope from who ſo mindeth any diſhoneſt matter. He then that ſhall be beloued of ſuch a woman, ought of reaſon to holde himſelfe contemned with euerie little token, and more to eſteeme a looke of hers with affection of loue, than to be altogether maiſter of an other.

A generall rule.

The loue of honeſt wome.

And to ſuch a woman I wot not what to adde more, but that ſhee bee beloued of ſo excellent a Courtier, as theſe Lordes haue faſhioned, and ſhee likewiſe to loue him, that both the one and the other may haue ful and wholy his perfection. After the Lord Iulian had thus ſpoken, he holds his peace, when the L. Gaſpar laughing, now (quoth he) you cannot complaine that the L. Iulian hath not faſhioned this woman of the Pallace moſt excellent. And if perdee there be any ſuch to be founde, I ſay that ſhe deſerueth well to bee eſteemed equall with the Courtier. The L. Emilia anſwered: I will

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at all times be bounde to finde her, when you finde the Courtier. M. Robert sayd then: Doubtles it cannot be said nay, but y L. Iulians woman which he hath fashioned is most perfect. Yet in these her lack properties, as touching loue, me seemeth notwithstanding that he hath made her somwhat ouer crabbed, and especially where hee will haue her in wordes, gestures, and countenances, to take cleane away all hope from the louer, and settle him as nigh as shee can in dispaire. For (as all men know) the desires of man stretch not to such kinde of matters, whereof there is no hope to be had. And although at times some women there haue been, that perhaps bearing themselues lofty of their beauty and worthinesse: the first worde they haue sayde to them, that communed with them of loue, hath beene, that they should neuer looke to come by any thing of them that liked them: yet in countenance and dalliance together, they haue beene afterward more fauourable to them, so that with their gentle deedes they haue tempred in parte their proud words. But if this woman both in wordes, deedes, and behauiours, take hope quite away, I beleeue our Courtier, if he be wise, will neuer loue her, and so shall she haue this imperfection, that she shall bee without a louer.

Then the L. Iulian. I will not (quoth he) haue my woman of the Pallace to take away the hope of euery thing, but of dishonest matters, the which, in case the Courtier be so courteous and discrete, as these Lords haue fashioned him, he will not onely not hope for, but not once motion. For if beauty, manners, wit, goodnes, knowledge, sober mode, and so many other vertuous conditions which we haue giuen the woman, bee the cause of the Courtiers loue toward her, the ende also of this loue must needes be vertuous: and if noblenesse of birth, skilfulnesse in martiall feates, in letters, in musicke, gentlenesse, bearing both in speech and behauiour, indowed with so many graces, be the meanes wherewithall the Courtier compasseth the womans loue, the ende of that loue must needes be of the same condition that the meanes are by the which he commeth to it. Beside that, as there be in the world sundry kindes of beauty, so are there also sundry desires of men: And therefore it is seene, that many, perceiuing a woman of so graue a Sundry kinds of beauty.

beauty, that going, standing, iesting, dallying, and doing what she lusteth, so tempereth all her gestures, that it driueth a certaine reuerence into who so beholdeth her, are agast and afeard to serue her: and rather drawne with hope, loue those garish and enticefull women, so delicate and tender, that in their words, gestures & countenance, declare a certaine passion somewhat feeble, that promiseth to be easely brought and turned into loue. Some to be sure from deceites, loue certaine other so lauish both of their eies, wordes and gestures, that they do what euer first commeth to minde, with a certaine plainnesse that hideth not their thoughts.

There want not also many other noble courages, that seming to them, that vertue consisteth about harde matters (for it is ouer sweete a victory to ouercome that seemeth to another impregnable) are some bent to loue the beauty of those women, that in their eies, words, and gestures, declare a more churlish grauity then the rest, for a triall, that their prowesse can enforce an obstinate minde, and bende also stubborne willes and rebelles against loue, to loue. Therefore such as haue so great affiance in themselues, because they reckon themselues sure from deceite, loue also willingly certaine women, that with a sharpenesse of wit, and with arte it seemeth in their beauty, that they hide a thousand crafts. Or else some other, that haue accompanied with beauty a certaine scornful fashion in fewe wordes, little laughing, after a sort, as though (in a manner) they finally regarded whosoeuer beholdeth or serueth them. Againe there are found certaine other, that vouchsafe not to loue but women that in their countenance, in their speech, and in all their gestures, haue about them all honestie, all faire conditions, all knowledge, and all graces heaped together, like one flower made of all the excellencies in the world. Therefore in case my woman of the Pallace haue scarcity of these loues proceeding of an ill hope, she shall not for this be without a louer: because she shall not want them that shall be prouoked through her deseries, and through the affiance of the prowesse in themselues, whereby they shall knowe themselues worthy to be beloued of her. M. Robert still spake against him, but the Dutchesse tolde him that hee was in the wrong, confirming the L. Iulians opinion: after that she

thée added: Wée haue no cause to complaine of the L. Iulian, for doubtlesse I thinke that the woman of the Pallace whome he hath fashioned, may be compared to the Courtier, and that with some aduantage: for he hath taught her to loue, which these Lords haue not done their Courtier. Then spake Vnico Aretino: It is méete to teach women to loue, because I neuer saw any that could do it, for almost continually all of them accompany their beauty with crueltie and vnkindnesse, toward such as serue them most faithfully, and which for noblenesse of birth, honestie and vertue deserued a reward for their good will: and yet many times giue themselues for a pray to most blockish and cowardly men, and very Asse-heades, and which not onely loue them not, but abhorre them. Therefore to shun these so fowle ouersights, perhaps it had béene well done still to haue taught them to make a choise of him that should deserue to be beloued, and afterward to loue him. The which is not necessary in men, for they know it too wel of themselues: and I my selfe can be a good witnesse of it, because loue was neuer taught me, but by the diuine beauty and most diuine maners of a Lady, so that it was not in my will not to worship her: and therefore néeded I them no arte nor teacher at all. And I beléeue that the like happeneth to as many as loue truly. Therefore the Courtier hath more néed to bée taught to make him beloued, then to loue. Then said the L. Emilia: Do you now reason of this this then, M. Vnico? Vnico answered: We think reason would that the good wil of womē should be gotten in seruing and pleasing of them. But it, wherein they reckon themselues serued and pleased, I beléeue must bée learned of women themselues, which oftentimes couet such strange matters, that there is no man that woulde imagine them, and otherwhile they themselues wot not what they should long for: therefore it were good you (Madam) that are a woman, and of right ought to know what pleaseth women, should take this paine to do the world so great profit. Then said the L. Emilia: Forsomuch as you are generally most acceptable to women, it is a good likelyhood that you knowe all the wayes how their good will is to be gotten.

Beautifull women cruell.

Therefore is it perdé méete for you to teach it. Madam answe-

red Vnico, I can giue a Louer no profitabler aduise than to procure that you beare no stroke with the woman whose good wil he seeketh. For the smal qualities which yet seemed to the world sometime to be in me, with as faithful a loue as euer was, were not of such force to make me beloued, as you to make me be hated. Then answered the L. Emilia: God saue me (M. Vnico) for once thinking and muche more for working any thing that shoulde make you bee hated. For beside that, I shoulde doe that I ought not. I shoulde bee thought of a slender iudgement to attempt a matter vnpossible. But since yée prouoke mée in this sorte to speake of that pleaseth women, I wil speake of it, and if it displease you, laie the fault in your selfe. I iudge therefore, that who so entendeth to be beloued, ought to loue and to be louely: and these two pointes are inough to obtaine the good will of women. Nowe to aunswere to that which you laie to my charge, I say that euery man knoweth and seeth that you are moste louely: Mary whether ye loue so faithfully, as you say ye do, I am very doubtful, and perhappes others too. For your being ouer louely, hath bene the cause that you haue bene beloued of many women: and great riuers diuided into many armes become smal brookes: so loue likewise scattred into moe than one bodie hath smal force. But these your continuall complaintes and accusing of the women whome you haue serued of vnkindnesse (whiche is not likely, considering so many desertes of yours) is a certaine kinde of discretion, to cloake the fauours, contentations and pleasures whiche you haue receiued in loue, and an assurance for the women that loue you, and that haue giuen themselues for a praie to you, that you wil not disclose them. And therefore are they also well pleased, that you shoulde thus openlye shewe false loue to others, to cloake their true. Wherefore if haply those women that you now make wise to loue, are not so light of beliefe, as you would they were, it happeneth because this your arte in loue beginneth to bee discouered, and not because I make you to bee hated. Then saide M. Vnico: I entend not to attempte to confute your wordes, because me seemeth it is as well my destenie not to bee beléeued in truthe, as it is yours to be beléeued in vntruth. Say hardly M. Vnico, aunswered the L. Emilia,

How to obtain the good wil of women.

L. Emilia, that you loue not so, as you wouldе haue beléeued yée did. For if you did loue, all your desires should be to please the woman beloued, and to will the selfe same thing that shée willeth, for this is the lawe of loue. But your complaining so much of her, betokeneth some deceite (as I haue saide) or elles it is a signe that you wil that, that she willeth not. Nay (quoth M. Vnico) there is no doubt but I wil that, that shée willeth, whiche is a signe I loue her: but it greeueth me because shée willeth not that, that I wil, whiche is a token shée loueth not mée, according to the verie same lawe that you haue alleaged. The L. Emilia answered: Hée that taketh in hande to loue, must also please and applie himselfe ful and wholye to the appetites of the wight beloued, and according to them frame his owne: and make his owne desires, seruauntes: and his very soule, like an obedient hand-mayden: nor at any time to thinke vppon other, but to chaunge his, if it were possible, into the beloued wightes, and recken this his chiefe ioy and happinesse, for so do they that loue truly. My chiefe happinesse were iumpe, answered M. Vnico, if one wil alone ruled her soule and mine both. It lieth in you to do it, answered the L. Emilia. Then spake M. Bernarde interrupting them: Doubtlesse, who so loueth truly, directeth all his thoughtes, without other mens teaching, to serue and please the woman beloued. But because these seruices of loue are not otherwhile wel knowne, I beléeue that beside louing and seruing, it is necessarie also to make some other shewe of this loue, so manifest, that the woman may not dissemble to knowe that shée is beloued: yet with such modestie, that it may not appeare that he beareth her little reuerence. And therefore you (Madame) that haue begunne to declare howe the soule of the Louer ought to be an obedient hand-mayden to the beloued, teach vs withall, I beséeche you, this secrete matter, whiche mée thinke is moste needfull. The L. Cæsar laughed and saide: If the Louer be so bashful, that hée is ashamed to tel it her, let him write it her. To this the Lady Emilia saide: Nay, if hée be so discréete, as is meet, before he maketh the woman to vnderstand it, he ought to be out of doubt, not to offend her. Then saide the L. Gaspar: All women haue a delight to be sued to in loue, although they were

The lawe of loue.

minded to deny her suite. The L. Iulian said, you are much deceiued. For I would not counsell the Courtier at any time to vse this way, except he were sure not to haue a repulse.

What should he then doe? quoth the L. Gaspar. The L. Iulian answered: In case you will needs write or speake to her, do it with such sober mode, and so warily, that the wordes may first attempt the mind, and so doubtfully touch her intent and wil, that they may leaue her a way and a certaine issue to faine the vnderstanding that those wordes containe loue: to the intent if hée find any danger, he may drawe backe and make wise to haue spoken or written it to another ende, to enioy these familiar cherishings and dalliances, with assurance, that oftentimes women shew to such as shuld take them for friendshippe, afterward deny them as soone as they perceiue they are taken for tokens of loue.

How a man shuld disclose his loue to a woman.

Wherefore such as be too rash, and venture so sawcily with certaine furies and plunges, oftentimes lose them, and worthily: for it displeaseth alwayes euery honest Gentlewoman, to bée little regarded of who to without respect séeketh for loue at her before hée hath serued her. Therefore (in my minde) the way which the Courtier ought to take, to make his loue knowne to the women, mée thinke shoulde bée to declare them in signes and tokens more then in wordes. For assuredly, there is otherwhile a greater affection of loue perceiued in a sigh, in a respect, in a feare, then in a thousand wordes. Afterwarde, to make the eyes the trusty messengers, that may carry the ambassages of the heart: because they oftentimes declare with a more force, what passion there is inwardly, then can the tongue, or letters, or messages, so that they not onely disclose the thoughtes, but also manye times kindle loue in the hearte of the person beloued. For those lively spirites that issue out of the eyes, because they are engendred nigh the hart, entring in like case into the eyes that they are leueled at, like a shafte to the pricke, naturally pierce to the hearte, as to their resting place, and there are at reste with those other spirites: And with the most subtill and fine nature of blonde which they carrie with them, infect the blonde aboute the hearte, where they are come to, & warme it: and make it like vnto themselues,

selues, and apt to receiue the imprinting of the image, which they haue carried away with them. Wherefore by little and little comming and going the way through the eyes to the heart, and bringing backe with them the tynder and stryking yron of beautie and grace, these messengers kindle with the puffing of desire the fire that so burneth, and neuer ceaseth consuming, for alwaies they bring some matter of hope to nourishe it. Therefore it may full wel be saide, that The eyes are a guide in loue, especially if they haue a good grace and sweetnesse in them, blacke, of a cleare and sightly blacknesse, or else gray, merry & laughing, and so comely and piercing in beholding, as some, in whiche a man thinketh verily that the wayes that giue an issue to the spirites are so deepe, that by them hee may see as farre as the heart. The eyes therefore lye lurking like souldiers in warre lying in waite in ambushment, and if the forme of all the bodie be welfauoured & of good proportion, it draweth vnto it & allureth who so beholdeth it a farre off, vntil he come nigh: and assoone as he is at hand, the eyes shoote, and like sorcerers bewitch, and especially when by a right line they sende their glistering beames into the eyes of the wight beloued at the time when they do the like, because the spirites meet together, and in that sweete encounter the one taketh the others nature and qualitie: as it is seene in a sore eye, that beholding steddily a sounde one, gineth him his disease. Therefore me thinke our Courtier in this wise open a great parcell of the loue to his woman. Truth it is, that in case the eyes be not gouerned with arte, they discouer many times the amorous desires more vnto whom a man would least: for through them, (in a manner) disibly shine forth those burning passions, which the Louer minding to disclose onely to the wight beloued, openeth them many times also vnto whō he wouldmost soonest hide them from. Therefore he that hath not losse the bridle of reason, handeleth himselfe heedefully, and obserueth the times and places: and when it needeth, refraineth from so stedfast beholding, for all it be a most sauourie foode, because An open loue is too hard a matter. Count Lewis answered: Yet otherwhile to be open it hurteth not: because in this case many times menne suppose that those loues tende not to

The eyes.

Open loue.

the end which euery louer coueteth, why they seeke there is little heed taken to hide them, and passe not whether they be knowne or no: and therefore with denial a man chalengeth him a certaine liberty to talke openly, and to stand without suspition with the wight beloued. Which is not so in them that seeke to be secret, because it appeareth that they stand in hope of, and are nigh some great reward, which they would not haue other men to knowe. I haue also seene a most feruent loue spring in the hearte of a woman toward one, that seemed at the first not to beare him the least affection in the worlde, onely for that she heard say, that the opinion of many was, that they loued together. And the cause of this (I beleeue) was that so generall a iudgement seemed a sufficient witnes that he was worthy of her loue. And it seemed (in a maner) that reporte brought the ambassade on the louers behalfe, much more truer and worthier to be beleeued, then he himselfe could haue done with letters, or wordes, or any other person for him: therefore sometimes this common voyce not onely hurteth not, but furthereth a mans purpose. The L. Iulian answered: Loues that haue report for their messenger, are very perillous to haue a man pointed to with a finger. And therefore who euer entendeth to walke this race warily, needs must he make countenance to haue a great deale lesse fire in his stomacke, then indeede he hath, and content himselfe with that, that he thinketh a trifle, and dissemble his desires, iealousies, afflictions and pleasures, and many times laugh with mouth, when the heart weepeth, and shewe himselfe lauish of that he is most couetous of: and these thinges are so harde to be done, that (in a maner) they are impossible. Therefore if our Courtier woulde follow my counsell, I would exhort him to keepe his loues secret. Then saide M. Bernarde: you must then teach it him, and me thinke it is much to purpose: for beside priuie signes that some make otherwhile so cleerly, that (in a maner) without any gesture, the person whome they enuie, in their countenance and eyes read what they haue in the hart. I haue sometime heard betweene two louers a long and a large discourse of loue, whereof yet the standers by could not plainely vnderstande any particular poynte, nor be out of doubt that it was of loue, such was the discretion

cretion and heedefulneſſe of the talker: for without making any manner ſhewe that they were not willing to be heard, they rounded priuilye the wordes onelye that were moſte to purpoſe, and all the reſt they ſpake alonde, which might bee applyed to diuers meanings. Then ſpake ſir Fridericke to reaſon thus in peecemeale in theſe rules of ſecretneſſe, were a taxing of an infinit matter in hand: therefore iwould I that we ſpeake ſomewhat rather how the Louer ſhould keepe and maintaine his Ladies good will, which me thinke is much more neceſſarie. The L. Iulian anſwered: I beleeue the meanes that ſerue him to compaſſe it, ſerue him alſo to keepe it, and all this conſiſteth in pleaſing the woman beloued, without offending her at any time. Therefore it were a hard matter to giue any certaine rule, becauſe who ſo is not diſcreet, infinite wayes committeth ouerſightes, which otherwhile ſeeme matters of nothing, and yet offend they much the womans minde. And this happeneth more than to others, to ſuch as be maſtred with paſſion: as ſome that whenſoeuer they haue opportunitie to ſpeake with the woman they loue, lament and bewaile ſo bitterly, and couet many times things ſo vnpoſſible, that through their vnreaſonableneſſe they are loathed of them. Other, if they be pricked with any iealouſie, ſtomack the matter ſo grieuouſly, that without ſtop they burſt out into rayling vpon him they ſuſpect, and otherwhile it is without treſpaſſe either of him, or yet of the woman, and will not haue her ſpeake with him, nor once turne her eyes on that ſide where he is. And with theſe faſhions many times they do not only offend the woman, but alſo they are the cauſe that ſhe bendeth her ſelfe to loue him. Becauſe the feare that a louer declareth to haue otherwhile leaſt his lady forſake him for the other, betokeneth that he acknowledgeth himſelfe inferiour in deſertes and prowes to the other, and with opinio the woman is moued to loue him. And perceiuing that to put him out of fauour he reporteth ill of him, although it be true, yet ſhe beleeueth it not, and notwithſtanding loueth him the more. Then ſaid the L. Ceſar: I confeſſe that I am not ſo wiſe that I could refraine ſpeaking ill of my fellow louer, except you could teach me ſome other better way to diſpatch him. The L. Iulian anſwered ſmiling: It is ſaid in a Prouerbe, Whe a mans

To maintaine good will.

An Italian Prouerbe.

mans enemie is in the water vp to the middle, let him reach him his hand, & help him frō danger: but when he is vp to the chin, set his foote on his head, & drowne him out of hand. Therefore certaine there be that play so with their fellow louers, and vntill they haue a sure meane to dispatch them, goe dissembling the matter, and rather shewe themselues friendes than otherwise. Afterwarde when occasion serueth so fitlye, that they know they maye ouerthrowe them with a riddance, reporting all euill of them, be it true or false, they do it without sparing, with Arte, deceite, and all the wayes that they can imagine. But because I would not like that our Courtier should at any time vse any deceite, I would haue him to withdrawe the good will of his mistresse from his fellow Louer, with none other Arte, but with louing, with seruing, and with being vertuous, of prowesse, discreete, sober, in conclusion, with deseruing more than he, and with being in euery thing heedfull and wise, refraining from certain leaud follies, into the which oftentimes many ignorant runne, and by sundrie waies. For in times past I haue knowne some that in writing and speaking to women, vsed euermore the wordes of Poliphilus, and ruffled so in they' subtill pointes of Rhethoricke, that the women were out of conceit with their owne selues, and reckoned themselues moste ignorant, and an houre seemed a thousande yeare to them, to ende that talke and to be ridde of them. Others bragge and boaste too beyond all measure. Others speake thinges many times that redounde to the blame and dammage of themselues, as some that I am wont to laugh at, which make profession to be louers, and otherwhile lay in the company of women: I neuer founde woman that euer loued mee, and are not witting that the hearers by and by iudge that it can arise of none other cause, but that they deserue neither to be beloued, nor yet so much as the water they drinke, and count them Asse-heades, and would not loue them for all the good in the world: seeming to them, that in case they should loue them, they were lesse worth than all the rest that haue not loued them. Other, to purchase hatred to some fellow Louer of theirs, are so fond, that in like manner in the company of women they say: Such a one is

How a womās good will is to be drawne frō a mans riuall.

Men that professe to be too louing in wordes.

The fondnes of some louers

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the luckieſt man in the world, for once, he is neither well fauoured, nor ſober, nor of proweſſe, neither can he doo or ſay more than other men, and yet all women loue him, and runne after him, and thus vttering the ſpight they beare him for this good lucke, although neither in countenance nor deedes he appeareth louely, yet make they them beléeue that he hath ſome hidde matter in him, for the which he deſerueth the loue of ſo many women: wherefore the women that heare them talke of him in this wiſe, they alſo vpon this beliefe are moued to loue him much more. Then Count Lewis laughed, and ſaide: I aſſure you our Courtier if he be diſcréete, will neuer vſe this blockiſhneſſe, to get him the good will of women.

The Lord Cæſar Gonzaga anſwered: Nor yet an other that a Gentleman of reputation vſed in my daies, who ſhall be nameleſſe for the honour of men. The Dutcheſſe anſwered: tell vs at the leaſt what he did. The Lord Cæſar ſaid: This man being beloued of a great Lady, at her requeſt came priuily to the Towne where ſhe lay. And after hée had ſéene her and communed with her, as long as they thought méete and had time and leiſure thereto, at his leaue taking, with many bitter teares and ſighes, in witneſſe of the extreame griefe hée felt for his departing, he required her to bée alwaies mindefull of him. And afterwarde hée added withall, That ſhee would diſcharge his Inne, for ſince hée came thither at her requeſt, hée thought méete that hée ſhould not ſtand to the charges of his béeing there himſelfe. Then began all the Ladies to laugh, and ſaide, that he was moſt vnworthy of the name of a Gentleman: and many were aſhamed with the ſelfe-ſhame that he himſelfe ſhould worthily haue felt, if at any time he had gotten ſo much vnderſtanding, that hée might haue perceiued ſo ſhameful an ouerſight. Then turned the L. Gaſpar to the L. Cæſar, and ſaid: Better it had bene to haue omitted the reharſall of this matter for the honour of women, than the naming of him for the honour of men. For you may well imagine what a iudgement that great Lady had in louing ſo vnreaſonable a creature. And perhappes two, of many that ſerued her, ſhée choſe him for the moſte diſcréeteſt, leaning behinde, and ſhewing ill will vnto

Blockiſh ouerſighter.

vnto them that hée was not worthy to waite vpon. Counte Lewis laughed and said: Who wotteth whether he was discréte in other things or no, and was out of the way onely about Iunes? But many times for ouermuch loue men commit greate follies. And if you wil tell the truth, perhappes it hath béene your chaunce to commit more than one. The Lord Cæsar answered smiling: Of good fellowship let vs not discouer our owne ouersightes. Yet we must discouer them, answered the L. Gaspar, that we may knowe how to amend them, then he proceeded. Now that the Courtier knoweth how to win and keepe the good will of his Lady, and take it from his fellow louer, you (my L. Iulian) are debtor to teach her to keepe her loues secret. The L. Iulian answered: We thinke I haue sufficiently spoken, therefore get you now an other to talke of this secret matter. Then M. Bernard and all the rest began a fresh to be in hand with him instantly, and the L. Iulian saide: You will tempt me. Ye are all the sort of you too great Clarkes in loue. Yet if ye desire to know further, go and read Ouid. And how, quoth M. Bernard, shall I hope that his lessons are any thing worth in loue, when he counselleth and saith, that it is very good for a man in the company of his mistres To faine the drunkard? See what a goodly way it is to get good wil withall. And he alledgeth for a prettie deuise to make a woman vnderstande that hée is in loue with her, being at a banket, To dip his finger in wine, & write it vpon the table. The L. Iulian said smiling: In those daies it was no fault. And therefore, quoth M. Bernarde, séeing so fluttish a matter was not disallowed of men in those daies, it is to be thought that they had not so courtly behauiours to serue women in loue, as wee haue. But let vs not omit our first purpose, to teach to keepe loue secret. Then said the Lord Iulian: In mine aduice to keepe loue secret, the causes are to be shunned that vtter it, which are many: yet one principal, namely, To be ouer secret, & to put no person in trust. Because euery louer coueteth to make his passiõs knowne to the beloued, and being alone, he is driuen to make many moe signes, and more euident, than if he were aided by some louing and faithfull friend. For the signes that the louer himselfe maketh, giue a farre greater suspitiõ, than those that he maketh by them that go

Loue maketh men commit great follies.

To keepe loue secret.

A friend.

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in meſſage betweene. And for ſo much as mẽ naturally are grædie to vnderſtand, as ſoone as the ſtranger beginneth to ſuſpect ẏ matter, he ſo applieth it, that he commeth to ẏ knowledge of the truth, and when he once knoweth it, he paſſeth not for diſcloſing it, yea, ſomtime he hath a delight ſo do it. Which hapneth not of a friend, who beſide ẏ he is a helpe to him with fauour & counſel, doth many times remedie the ouerſights committed by the blinde Louer, and alwaies procureth ſecretneſſe, & preuenteth many matters which he himſelfe cannot foreſee: beſide the great comfort ẏ he feeleth when he may vtter his paſſions & griefes to a heartie friende, & the partening of them likewiſe encreaſeth his contentations. Then ſaid the L. Gaſpar: There is an other cauſe ẏ diſcouereth loues much more than this. What is ẏ, anſwered the L. Iulian? The L. Gaſpar ſaid: Vaine grædineſſe ioyned with the fondneſſe & crueltie of women, which (as you your ſelfe haue ſaid) procure as much as they can, to get thẽ a great nũber of louers, & (were it poſſible) they would haue them al to burne and make aſhes, and after death to return to life, to die againe. And though they loue withall, yet reioyce they at the torment of louers, becauſe they ſuppoſe ẏ griefe, afflictions, and the calling euery houre for death, is a true witneſſe that they are beloued, and that with their beautie they can make men miſerable and happy, & giue them life and death, as pleaſeth them. Wherfore they ſæd only vpõ this fode, & are ſo grædie ouer it, ẏ for wanting it they neuer throughly cõtent louers, nor yet put them out of hope, but to kæpe them ſtil in afflictions and in deſire, they vſe a certaine ſoftie ſowerneſſe of threatnings mingled with hope, & would haue them to eſtæme a word, a countenance, or a becke of theirs, for a chiefe bliſſe. And to make men count thẽ chaſt and honeſt, as well others as their louers, they finde meanes ẏ theſe ſharpe & diſcurteous maners of theirs may be in open ſight, for euery man to thinke ẏ they will much worſe handle ẏ vnworthy, ſince they handle them ſo, that deſerue to be beloued. And vnder this beliefe, thinking themſelues with this craft ſafe from ſlaunder, oftentimes they lye nightly with moſt vile men, & whõ they ſcarce know. So that to reioyce at ẏ calamitie & continuall complaintes of ſome worthy Gentleman, and beloued of them, they bar themſelues from thoſe pleaſures which

What diſcloſeth loue.

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perhaps with some exercise they might come by, and are the cause that the poore Louer by very debating of the matter, is driuen to vse wayes by which the thing commeth to light, that with all diligence should haue bene kept most secret. Certaine other there are, which if with deceit they can bring many in beliefe that they are beloued of them, nourish among thē iealousies, with cherishing and making of the one in the others presence. And when they see that he also whom they loue best, is now assured and out of doubt that he is beloued, through the signes and tokens that he made him many times with doubtfull wordes and faigned disdaines, they put him in vncertaintie, and nippe him at the very heart, making wise not to passe for him, and to giue themselues full and wholy to the other. Whereupon arise malice, enmities, and infinite occasions of strife and vtter confusion. For needs must a man shewe in that case the extreame passion which he feeleth, although it redounde to the blame and slaunder of the woman. Other not satisfied with this only torment of iealousie, after the Louer hath declared al his tokens of loue and faithfull seruice, and they receiued the same vō some signe to be answerable in good will, without purpose and whē it is least loked for, they begin to bethink themselues, and make wise to beleeue that he is slacked, and faigning new suspitiōs that they are not beloued, they make a countenance that they will in any wise put him out of their fauour. Wherefore through these inconueniences the poore soule is constrained of very force to beginne a freshe, and to make her signes, as though he began his seruice but then, and all the day long passe vp and downe through the streete, & when the woman goeth forth of her doores to accompany her to Church, and to euery place where she goeth, & neuer to turne his eyes to other place. And here he returneth to weeping, to sighes, to braue countenances; and when hee can talke with her, to swearing, to blaspheming, to desperation, and to all rages which vnhappy louers are led to by these wild beasts, y haue greater thirst of blood thā the very Tygres. Such scandalous tokens as these be, are too often seene and vnknowne, and many times more of others then of the causer of them: and thus are they in few daies so published, that a step cannot be made, nor the least signe that

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is, but it is noted with a thousand eyes. It happeneth then, that long before there be any pleasures of loue betwixt them, they are gessed and iudged of all the world. For when they see yet their Louer now nigh deathes doore, cleane vanquished with the cruelties and torments they put him to, determineth aduisedly and in good earnest to drawe backe, then begin they to make signe that they loue him heartily, & do him all pleasures, and giue themselues to him, least if that feruent desire should faint in him, the fruite of loue should withall be the lesse acceptable to him, and he giue them the lesse thanke for doing all things contrarily. And in case this loue be already knowne abroad, at this time are all the effects knowne in like manner abroade, that come of it, and so lose they their reputation, and the louer findeth that he hath lost time and labour, and shortned his life in afflictiõs without any fruit or pleasure, because he came by his desires, not when they should haue bin so acceptable to him, that they would haue made him a most happy creature, but when he set little or nothing by them. For his hart was now so mortified with those bitter passions, ỳ he had no more sense to taste the delight or contentation offered. Then said ỳ L. Octauian smiling: You held your peace a while, & refrained to speaking ill of women, but now yée haue so well hitte them home, that it appeared ye waited a time to plucke vp your strength, like them ỳ retire backeward to giue a greater push at the encounter. And to say the truth, it is ill done of you, for now me thinke ye may haue done & be pacified. The L. Emilia laughed, & turning her to the Dutches, she said: Sée Madam, our enemies begin to breake and to square one with an other. Giue me not this name answered ỳ L. Octauiã, for I am not your aduersary, but this contention hath displeased me, not because I am sorie to see the victorie vpon womens side, but because it hath lead the Lord Gaspar to reuile thẽ more than he ought, and the L. Iuliã and the L. Cæsar, to praise thẽ perhaps somwhat more than due: beside that, through ỳ length of the talke we haue lost the vnderstanding of many other pretie matters that are yet behind to be said of the Courtier. Sée quoth the L. Emilia, whether you bée not our aduersary, for the talke that is past grieueth you, and you would not that this so excellent a gentlewoman of the Pallace had

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bene fashioned: not for that you haue any maze to say of the Courtier (for these lords haue spokē already what they know, and I beleeue neither you, ne any man else can adde ought therto) but for the malice you beare to the honour of women. It is out of doubt, answered the L. Octauian, beside ỹ is already spoken of the courtier, I could with much more in him. But since euery man is pleased that he shalbe as he is, I am well pleased to, & would not haue him altred in any point, saning in making him somewhat more friendly to women, than the Lord Gaspar is, yet not perhaps, so much as some of these other Lords are. Then spake the Dutchelle: In any case we must se whether your witte be such, that it can giue the Courtier a greater perfection, than these Lords haue already done: therfore dispose your selfe to vtter that you haue in your mind, else will we thinke that you also cannot adde vnto him more than hath already bene said, but that you minded to diminish the praises and worthinesse of the gentlewoman of the Pallace, seing ye iudge she is equall with the Courtier, whom by this meane you would haue beleeued might be much more perfect, thā these Lords haue fashioned him. The L. Octauian laughed, and said: The praises and dispraises giuen women more than due, haue so filled the eares and minde of the hearers, ỹ they haue left no voide rome for any thing else to stand in: beside that (in mine opinion) it is very late. Then saide the Dutchesse: If we tarrie till to morrow, we shall haue the more time, and the praises and dispraises, which (you say) are giuen women on both sides passing measure, in the meane season will be cleane out of these Lords mindes, and so shall they be apt to conceiue the truth that you wil tel vs. When the Dutchesse had thus spoken, she arose vpō her feete, and curteously dismissing them all, withdrew her to her bedchamber, and euery man got him to his rest.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE Courtier of Count *Baldessar Castilio*, vnto Maister *Alphonsus Ariosto*.

THinking to write out the communication that was had the fourth night after ỹ other mentioned in the former bookes, I feele among sundry discourses, a bitter thought that gripeth me in my mind, and maketh me to call to remembrance worldly miseries & our deceitfull hopes, and how Fortune many times in the very mids of our race, otherwhile nigh the end disappointeth our fraile and vaine purposes, sometime drowneth them before they can once come to haue a sight of the hauen a far off. It causeth me therefore to remember ỹ not long after these reasonings were had, cruell death bereaued our house of three most rare gentlemen, when in their prosperous age and forwardnes of honour they most flourished, & of them the first was the L. Gaspar Pallauicin, who assaulted with a sharpe disease, and more then once brought to the last call, although his minde was of such courage that for a time in spight of death he kept the soule and body together, yet did he end his naturall course long before hée came to his ripe age. A very great losse, not in our house onely, and to his friends and kinsefolke, but to his Countre and all Lumbardy. Not long after died the L. Cæsar Gonzaga, which to all that were acquainted with him, left a bitter and sorrowfull remembrance of his death. For since nature so sildome times bringeth forth such kinde of men, as she doth, méet it seemed that she should not so soone haue bereaued vs of him. For vndoubtedly a man may say that the L. Cæsar was taken from vs, euen at the very time when hée began to shew more then a hope of himselfe, & to be esteemed as his excellent qualities deserued. For with many vertuous acts he already gaue a good testimony to his worthines, & besides his noblenesse of birth, he excelled also in the ornamẽt of letters, of martial prowesse, and of euery worthye qualitye. So that for his goodnesse, witte, nature,

L. Gaspar Pallauicin.

L. Cæsar Gonzaga.

nature, and knowledge, there was nothing so high, that might not haue béene hoped for at his hands. Within a short while after the death of M. Robert of Bary, was also a great heauinesse to the whole house: For reason séemed to perswade euerye man to take heauily the death of a young man of good behauiour, pleasant and most rare in the beauty of phylnomie, and in the making of his person, with a lucky and liuelye towardnesse, as a manne could haue wished. These men therefore, had they liued, I beléeue would haue come to that passe, that vnto who so had knowen them, they would haue shewed a manifest proofe, howe much the Court of Vrbin was worthy to be cõmended, and how furnished it was with noble knights, which (in a maner) all ỹ rest haue done that were brought vp in it. For truely there neuer issued out of the house of Troy so many great men and Captaines, as there haue come men out of this house for vertue very singular, and in great estimation with al men. For as you know Sir Friderick Fregoso was made Archbishop of Salerno. Count Lewis, Bishop of Baious. The L. Octauian Fregoso, Duke of Genua. M. Bernarde Bibiena, Cardinall of Sancta Maria in Portico. M. Peter Bembo, Secretary to Pope Leo. The L. Iulian was exalted to the Dukedome of Nemours, and to the great estate he is presently in. The Lord Francescomaria della Rouere Generall of Rome, hée was also made Duke of Vrbin: Although a much more prayse may be giuen to the house where he was brought vp, that in it hée hath proued so rare and excellent a Lorde in all vertuous qualities, (as a man may beholde) then that hée attained vnto the Dukedom of Vrbin: and no small cause thereof (I thinke) was the noble company where in dayly conuersation hée alwayes heard and saw cõmendable nurture. Therefore (me thinke) whether it be by hap, or through the fauour of the starres, the same cause that so long a time hath granted vnto Vrbin very good Gouernours, doth still continue and bringeth the like effects. And therefore it is to bée hoped, that prosperous fortune will still encrease these so vertuous doings, that the happinesse of the house, and of the state, shall not onely not diminishe, but rather dayly encrease: And thereof we see already many euident tokens, among which (I rekon the chiefest

M. Robert of Bary.

The promoting of certain mentioned in the Booke.

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to be, that the heauen hath graunted such a Ladie as is the Ladie Eleanor Gonzaga the new Dutchesse. For if euer there were coupled in one bodie alone, knowledge, wit, grace, beautie, sober conuersation, gentlenesse, and euery other honest qualitie, in her they are so linked together, that there is made thereof a chaine, which frameth & setteth forth euery gesture of hers, with all these conditions together. Let vs therefore proceede in our reasonings vpon the Courtier, with hope that after vs there shall not want suche as shal take notable and worthy examples of vertue at the present Court of Vrbin, as we now do at the former. It was thought therefore (as the L. Gaspar Pallaucin was wont to rehearse) that the next day after the reasonings conteined in the last booke, the L. Octauian was not much seene: for many deemed that he had gotten himselfe out of company to thinke well vppon that hee had to say without trouble. Therefore when the company was assembled at the accustomed hower where the Dutchesse was, they made the L. Octauian to be diligently sought for, which in a good while appeared not, so that many of the Gentlemen and Damozels of the Court fel to dauncing and to minde other pastimes, supposing for that night they should haue no more talke of the Courtier.

L. Eleoner Gonzaga, Dutchesse of Vrbin.

And nowe were they all setteled about one thing or an other, when the L. Octauian came in (almost) no more looked for: and beholding the L. Cæsar Gonzaga and the L. Gaspar dauncing, after he had made his reuerence to the Dutchesse, he said smiling: I had wel hoped we should haue heard the L. Gaspar speak some ill of women this night to, but since I see him daunce with one, I imagine he is agreed with all. And I am glad that the cõtrouersie, or (to terme it better) the reasoning of the Courtier is thus ended.

Not ended, I warrant you, answered the Dutchesse, for I am not such an enemy to men, as you be to women, and therfore I wil not haue the Courtier bereaued from his due honour, and the fournimentes whiche you your selfe promised him yesternight.

And when that shee hadde thus spoken, shee commaunded them all after that daunce was ended, to place themselues

after the wonted manner, the which was done. And as they stood all with heedfull expectation, the L. Octauian said: Madam, since for that I wished many other good qualities in the Courtier, it followeth by promise that I must entreate vpon them, I am well willing to vtter my minde: not with opinion that I can speake all that may be saide in the matter, but onely so much as shall suffice to rote that out of your minde, which yesternight was obiected to me: namely, that I spake it more to withdrawe the praises from the Gentlewoman of the Pallace, in doing you falsely to beleeue, that other excellent qualities might be added to the Courtier, and with that policie prefer him before her, than for that it is so indeede. Therefore to frame my selfe also to the houre, which is later than it was wont to be, when we began our reasonings at other times, I will be briefe. Thus continuing in the talke that these Lords haue ministred, which I full and wholly allowe and confirme, I say, that of thinges which we call good, some there be, that simply and of themselues are allwaies good, as temperance, valiaunt courage, health, and all vertues that bring quietnesse to mens mindes. Other be good for diuers respects, and for the ende they be applyed vnto, as the lawes, liberalitie, riches, and other like. I think therfore that the Courtier (if he be of the perfection that Count Lewis and Sir Fridericke haue described him) may indeede be a good thing, and worthy praise, but for all that, not simplye, nor of himselfe, but for respect of the ende wherto he may bee applyed. For doubtlesse if the Courtier with his noblenesse of byrth, comely behauiour, pleasantnesse and practise in so many exercises, should bring forth no other fruite, but to bee such a one for himselfe, I would not thinke to come by this perfect trade of Courtiershippe, that a man should of reason bestowe so much studie and paines about it, as who so will compasse it must do. But I would say rather that many of the qualities appointed him, as daunsing, singing, and sporting, were lightnesse and vanitie, and in a man of estimation rather to be dispraised than commended: because those precise fashions, the setting forth ones selfe, merrie talke, and such other matters belonging to entertainment of women and loue, (although perhappes many other bee of a contrary opinion) do

Things good.

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many times nothing else but womannish the mindes, corrupt youth, and bring them to a moste wanton trade of liuing: where vppon vfterwarde ensue these effectes, that the name of Italy is brought into slaunder: And few there bee that haue the courage, I will not say to ieopard their life, but to enter once into a daunger. And without peradventure there be infinite other things, that if a man bestow his labour and study about them, would bring forth much more profit both in peace and war, then this trade of Courtiership of it selfe alone.

Dastardlines.

But in case the Courtiers doings be directed to the good ende they ought to be, and which I meane: me thinke then they should not onely not be hurtfull or vaine, but most profitable, and deserue infinite prayse. The end therefore of a perfect Courtier (wherof hitherto hath beene nothing spoken) I beleeue is to purchase him, by the meane of the qualities which these Lords haue giuen him, in such wise the good will and fauour of the Prince hee is in seruice withall, that he may breake his mind to him, and alwaies enforme him franckly of the truth of euery matter meete for him to vnderstand, without feare or perill to displease him. And when he knoweth his mind is bent to commit any thing vnseemely for him, to bee bold to stand with him in it, & to take courage after an honest sorte at the fauour which he hath gotten him through his good qualities, to diswade him from euery ill purpose, and to set him in the way of vertue. And so shal the Courtier, if he haue the goodnes in him that these Lords haue giuen him accompanied with readinesse of wit, pleasantnesse, wisedome, knowledge in letters, and so many other things, vnderstand how to behaue himself readily in al occurrents to driue driue into his Princes head what honour and profit shall ensue to him and to his by iustice, liberality, valiantnes of courage, meekenesse, and by the other vertues that belong to a good Prince, and contrariwise what slander, and damage, commeth of the vices contrarie to them.

The end of a Courtier.

And therefore in mine opinion, as musicke, sportes, pastimes, and other pleasant fashions, are (as a man would say) the floure of Courtlinesse, euen so is the training and the helping forward of the Prince to goodnes, and the fearing him from euill, the fruite of it.

The floure of Courtlinesse. The fruite of it.

Well doing.

And because the praise of well doing consisteth chiefly in two pointes, whereof the one is, in chusing out an ende that our purpose is directed vnto, that is good in deed: the other, the knowledge to finde out apt and meete meanes to bring it to the appointed good ende: sure it is that the minde of him which thinketh to worke so, that his Prince shall not bee deceiued, nor ledde with flatterers, raylers and lyers, but shall knowe bothe the good and the bad, and beare loue to the one, and hatred to the other, is directed to a verie good ende. Wee thinke againe, that the qualities which these Lords haue giuen the Courtier, may bee a good meanes to compasse it: and that, because among many vices that we see now a dayes in many of our Princes, the greatest are ignorance and self-lyking: and the roote of these two mischiefes is nothing else but lying, which vice is worthily abhorred of God and man, and more hurtfull to Princes than any other, because they haue more scarcitie than of anye thing else, of that whiche they nede to haue more plentie of, than of any other thing: namely, of suche as shoulde tel them the truthe, and put them in minde of goodnesse: for enemies be not driuen of loue doe these offices, but they delight rather to haue them liue wickedly and neuer to amend: on the other side, they dare not rebuke them openly for feare they be punished. As for friendes, fewe of them haue free passage to them, and those fewe haue a respect to reprehende theyr vices so freely as they doe priuate mens. And many times to currisanour and to purchase good will, they giue themselues to nothing else but to feede them with matters that may delight, and content their minde, though they be foule and dishonest. So that of friendes they become flatterers, and to make a hand by that straight familiaritie, they speake and worke alwayes to please, and for the most parte open the way with lyes, which in the Princes minde engender ignorance, not of outwarde matters onely, but also of his owne selfe. And this may be saide to be the greatest and foulest lye of all other, because the ignorant minde deceiueth himselfe, and inwardly maketh lyes of himselfe. Of this it commeth, that great men, beside that they neuer vnderstand the truth of any thing, drunken with the licentious libertie that rule bringeth with it, and with abundance of

Lyes engender ignorance and selfelyking.

Enemies.

Friendes.

Flattery.

Great men.

delicacies

delicacies drowned in pleasures, are so farre out of the way, and they? mindes is so corrupted in seeing themselues alwaies obeyed and (as it were) worshipped with so muche reuerence and praise, without not onely any reproue at all, but also gainesaying, that through this ignorance they wade to an extreame self-lyking, so that afterward they admit no counsel nor aduise of others.

And because they beleeue that the vnderstanding howe to rule is a matter easie, and to compasse it, there needeth neyther art nor learning, but onely stoutnesse, they bende their mindes and all they? thoughts to the maintenance of that port they kepe, thinking it the true happinesse to doe what a man lusteth. Therefore doe some abhorre reason and iustice, because they weene it a bridle, and a certaine meane to bring them in bondage, and to diminish in them the contentation and hearts ease that they haue to beare rule, if they should obserue it: and their rule were not perfect nor whole, if they should be compelled to obey vnto vertue and honestie, because they haue opinion, that Who so obeyeth, is no right Lorde indeede. Therefore taking these principles for a president, and suffring themselues to be ledde with self-lyking, they were lostie, and with a stately countenaunce, with sharpe and cruell conditions, with pompous garmentes, Gold and Iewels, and with comming (in a maner) neuer abroade to be seene, they thinke to gette estimation and authoritie among men, and to bee counted (almoste) Gods: But they are (in my iudgement) like the Colosses that were made in Rome the last yeare vpon the feaste day of the place of Agone, whiche outwardly declared a likenesse of great men and Horses of triumph, and inwardly were full of towe and ragges. But the Princes of this sort are so much worse, as the Colosses by their owne waighty paise stand vpright of themselues. and they because they be ill counterpeised, & without line or leuell placed vppon vnequall grounde, through their owne waightinesse ouerthrowe themselues, and from one errour runne into infinite. Because they? ignorance being annoyed with this false opinion, That they cannot erre, and that ẏ port they kep commeth of their knowledge, leadeth them euery way by right or

Images of horrable greatnesse.

by wrong to lay hand vpon possessions holdy, so they may come by them. But in case they would take aduisement to knowe and to worke that that they ought, they would as well strine not to raigne, as they do to raigne, because they should perceiue what a naughty and dangerous matter it were for subiects that ought to be gouerned, to be wiser then the Princes that should gouerne. You may see that ignorance in musicke, in dauncing, in riding, hurteth no man, yet he that is no musition is ashamed and afraid to sing in the presence of others, or to dance, he that cannot, or he that sitteth not well a horse, to ride: but of the vnskilfulnesse to gouerne people ariseth so many euils, deathes, destructions, mischiefes, and confusions, that it may be called the deadliest plague vpon the earth. And yet some Princes make ignorant in gouernment, are not bashefull nor ashamed to take vpon them to gouerne, I will not say in the presence of foure or halfe a dosen persons, but in the face of the world: For their degree is set so on lost, that all eyes behold them, and therefore not their great vices only, but their least faults of all are continually noted. As it is written, that Simon was ill spoken of because he loued wine, Scipio, sleepe, Lucullus, banquettings.

Ignorance of Rulers.

But would God the Princes of these our times would couple their vices with so many vertues, as did they of olde time: which if they were out of the way in any point, yet refused they not the exhortations and lessons of such as they deemed meete to correct those faultes: Yea they sought with great instance to frame their life by the rule of notable personages: As Epaminondas by Lysias of Pythagoras sect: Agesilaus by Xenophon: Scipio by Perseius: and infinite others. But in case a graue Philosopher should come before any of our Princes, or who euer beside, that would shew them plainly and without any circumstance the horrible face of true vertue, and teach them good maners, & what the life of a good Prince ought to be: I am assured they would abhorre him at the first sight, as a most venimous serpent, or else they would make him a laughing stocke, as a most vile matter.

Princes of old time were reformable.

I say therefore, that since now a dayes Princes are so corrupt through ill vsages, ignorance, and false selfe-liking, and that it is so

so harde a matter to giue them the knowledge of the truth, and to bend them to vertue, and men with lyes and flattery, and such naughtie meanes seeke to currie fauour with them, the Courtier by the meane of those honest qualities that Counte Lewis and Sir Fridericke haue giuen him, may some, and ought to goe about so to purchase him the good will, and allure vnto him the minde of a Prince, that hee may make him a free and safe passage to commune with him in euery matter without troubling him. And if hee bee such a one as is saide, hee shall compasse it with small paine, and so may hee alwayes open vnto him the truth of euery matter at ease. Beside this, by little and little distill into his minde goodnesse, and teach him continencie, stoutnes of courage, iustice, and temperance, making him to tasse what sweetenesse is hidde vnder that little bitternesse, which at the first sight appeareth vnto him that withstandeth vices, which are alwayes hurtfull, displeasaunt, and accompanied with ill reporte and shame, euen as vertues are profitable, pleasant and praiseable, and enflame him to them with the examples of many famous Captaines, and other notable personages, vnto whom they of olde time vsed to make Images of mettall and marble, and some time of gold, and to set them vp in common haunted places as well for the honour of them, as for an encouraging of others, that with an honest enuie they might endeuour also themselues to reach vnto that glorie. In this wise may hee leade him through the rough way of vertue (as it were) decking it about with boughes to shadow it, & strowing it ouer with sightly flowers, to ease the griefe of the painful iourny in him that is but of a weake force. And somtime with mascke, somtime with armes, & horses, somtime with rimes and meeter, otherwhile with communication of loue, and with all those waies that these Lords haue spoken of: continually keepe that minde of his occupied in honest pleasure: imprinting notwithstanding therin alwayes beside (as I haue said) in company with these flickering prouocations some vertuous condition, and beguiling him with a wholesome craft, as the warie Phisitions do, who many times when they minister to young and tender children in their sickenesse, a medicine of a bitter taste, vse to annoint the cuppe

Images in the honor of men.

about

bout the brimme with some sweete licour. The courtier therefore applying to such a purpose this baile of pleasure, in euery time, in euery place, and in euery exercise hee shall attaine to his ende, and deserue much more praise and recompence, than for any other good worke that he can do in the worlde, because there is no treasure that doth so vniuersallye profitte, as doth a good Prince, nor any mischiefe so vniuersally hurte, as doth an euill Prince. Therefore is there also no paine so bitter and cruell, that were a sufficient punishment for those naughtie and wicked Courtiers, that make their honest and pleasaunt manners, and their good qualities, a cloake for an ill end, and by meane of them, seeke to come in fauour with their Princes, for to corrupt them, and to straye them from the way of vertue, and to leade them to vice. For a manne may saye, that such as these bee, doe infect with deadly poyson, not one vessell whereof one manne alone drinketh, but the common fountaine that all the people resorteth to. The L. Octauian held his peace, as though he would haue said no more: but the Lord Gaspar spake, I cannot see, my Lord Octauian (said hee) that this godnesse of minde and continencie, and the other vertues which you will haue the Courtier to shewe his Lorde, may bee learned: but I suppose that they are giuen the men that haue them, by nature, and of God. And that it is so, you may see that there is no man so wicked, and of so ill conditions in the worlde, nor so intemperate and brutell, which if he be asked the question, will confesse himselfe such a one. But euery man be he neuer so wicked, is glad to bee counted iust, continent, and good: which should not be so, in case these vertues might be learned, because it is no shame not to know the thing that a man hath not studied, but a rebuke, it is not to haue that which we ought to be endowed withall of nature. Therefore doth each mã seeke to couer the faultes of nature, as well in the minde, as also in the body: the which to be seene in the blinde, lame, crooked, and other maimed and deformed creatures. For although these imperfections may be laid to nature, yet doth it grieue each man to haue thē in himselfe: because it seemeth by the testimonie of the selfe same nature, that a man hath that default or blemish (as it were) for a

patent

patent and token of his ill inclination. The fable that is reported of Epimetheus, doth also confirme mine opinion, which was so vnskilful in dividing the gifts of nature vnto men, that he left them much more needie of euery thing, than all other liuing creatures. Wherevpon Prometheus stole the politike wisdome from Minerua and Vulcan that men haue to get their liuing withall. Yet hadde they not for all that, ciuill wisedome to gather themselues togither into Cities, and the knowledge to liue with ciuilitie, because it was kept in the Castle of Iupiter by most circumspect ouerseers, which put Prometheus in such feare, that he durst not approach nigh them. Wherevpō Iupiter taking pitie vpon the miserie of men, that could not fellowship togither for lacke of ciuil vertus, but were torne in peces by wilde beasts, he sent Mercury to ỹ earth to carry iustice & shame, ỹ these two things might furnish cities, and gather citizens togither: and willed that they should be giuen them, not as other Artes were, wherein one cunning man sufficeth for many ignorant, as phisick, but that they should be imprinted in euery man. And ordained a lawe, that all such as were without iustice and shame, should be banished and put to death, as contagious to the Citie. Behold then (my Lord Octauian) God hath granted these vertues to mē, & are not to be learned, but be natural. Then ỹ L. Octauian somwhat smiling: Will you thē my L. Gaspar (quoth he) haue mē to be so vnfortunate, & of so peruish a iudgemēt, that wō policie they haue fōūd out an art to tame ỹ natures of wild beasts, as beares, wolues, liōs, & may with the same teach a pretie bird to flie as a man list, & returne backe from the wood, & from his naturall libertie of his owne accorde to snares and bondage, & with the same policie cannot or will not find out arts whereby they may profit themselues, and with studie and diligence make their minde more perfect? This (in mine opinion) were like as if Phisitions should studie with all diligence to haue the art only to heale fellons in fingers, and the redde gumme in young childzen, and lay aside the cure of Feuers, Pluriſie, and other sort diseases, the which how out of reason it were, euery man may consider. I beleeue therefore, that the morall vertues are not in vs altogither by nature, because nothing can at any time bee accustomed vnto it, that is, naturally

Fable med

naturall, this contrariens it is seene in a stone, the which though it be cast vpwards ten thousand times, yet will he neuer accustome to goe vp as it selfe. Therefore in case vertues were as naturall to vs, as heauinesse to the stone, we should neuer accustome our selues to vice. Nor yet are vices naturall in this sort, for then should we neuer be vertuous: and a great wickednesse and folly it were, to punish men for the faultes that came of nature, without our offence: and this error should the lawes commit which appoint not punishment to the offenders for the trespasse that is past, because it cannot bee brought to passe, that the thing that is done, may not bee done, but they haue a respect to the time to come, that who so hath offended, may offend no more, or else with ill president giue not a cause for others to offend. And thus yet they are in opinion, that vertues may be learned, which is most true, because we are borne apt to receiue them, and in like manner vices: and therefore there groweth a custome in vs of both the one and the other through long vse, so that first we practise vertue or vice, after that, we are vertuous or vitious. The contrary is knowne in the things that be giuen vs of nature, for first we haue the power to practise them, after that, we do practise: as it is in the sences; for first we can see, heare, feele: after that, we do see, heare, and feele: although notwithstanding many of these doings be also set out more sightly with teaching.

Vertues may be learned.

A difference betweene that a man hath by nature and by custome.

Whereupon good Scholemaisters do not onely instruct their children in Letters, but also in good nourture, in eating, drinking, talking, and going with certaine gestures mete for the purpose. Therefore euen as in the other Artes, so also in the vertues it is behoufull to haue a teacher, that with lessons and good exhortations may stirre vp and quicken in vs those mortall vertues, whereof we haue the sede inclosed and buried in the soule, and like the good Husbandman, til them, and open the way for them, weeding from about them, the briars and darnell of appetites, which many times so shadowe and choake our mindes, that they suffer them not to budde nor to bring forth the happie fruites, which alone ought to be wished to growe in the hearts of men. In this sort then is naturally in euery one of vs iustice and shame, which you say Iu-

piter

piter sent to the earth for all men. But euen as a bodie without eyes, how sturdie soeuer he be, if he remoue to any certaine place, oftentimes fayleth: so the rote of these vertues that be potentially engendred in our mindes, if it be not aided with teaching, doth often come to nought. Because if it should be brought into doing, and to his perfect custom, it is not satisfied (as it is said) with nature alone: but hath nede of a politike vsage and of reason, which may clense and scoure that soule, taking away the dimme veile of ignorance, whereof arise (in a maner) all the errours in men. For in case good and ill were well knowne and perceiued, euerye man would alwayes chose the good, and shunne the ill. Therefore may vertue be saide to be (as it were) a wisedome and an vnderstanding to chose the good: and vice, a lacke of foresight, and an ignorance that leadeth to iudge falsely. Because men neuer chose the ill, with opinion that it is ill, but they are deceiued through a certaine likenesse of good. Vertue. Vice.

Then answered the L. Gaspar: yet are there many that knowe plainely they doe ill, and doe it notwithstanding, and that because they more esteeme the present pleasure whiche they feele, than the punishment that they doubt shall fall vppon them, as theeues, murtherers, and suche other. The L. Octauian saide: true pleasure is alwayes good, and true sorrowe euill: therefore these be deceiued in taking false pleasure for true, and true sorrow for false: wherupon many times through false pleasures, they run into true displeasures. The art therefore that teacheth to discerne this truth from falshode, may in like case be learned: and the vertue by the whiche we chose this good indede, and not that which falsely appeareth to be, may be called true knowledge, and more auailable for mans life, than any other, because it repelleth ignorance, of the which (as I haue saide) spring all euils. Then M. Peter Bembo, I wot not, my L. Octauian (quoth he) how the Lord Gaspar should graunt you, that of ignorance should spring al euils, and that there be not many which in offending knowe for certaintie that they doe offend, neyther are they any deale deceiued in the true pleasure, nor yet in the true sorrow: because it is sure that such as be incontinent iudge with reason and vprightly, and knowe it, whereunto they are prouoked by lusse contrary to due, to be ill, True pleasure. True sorrow. True knowledge.

ill, and therefore they make resistance, and sette reason to match grædie desire, wherevpon ariseth the battaile of pleasure and sorowe against iudgement. Finally, reason ouercome by grædie desire, farre the mightier, is cleane without succour, like a ship, that for a time defendeth her selfe from the tempestuous Sea-stormes, at the ende beaten with the two raging violence of windes, her gables and tacklings broken, yeldeth vp to be driuen at the will of fortune, without occupying helme, or any manner helpe of Pilot for her safegarde. Forthwith therefore commit they the offences with a certaine doubtfull remorce of conscience, and (in a maner) whether they will or no, the which they would not do, vnlesse they knew the thing that they do to be ill, but without striuing of reason, would run wholy headlõg after grædie desire, and then should they not be incontinent, but vntemperate, which is much worse. Therefore is incontinencie said to bee a diminished vice, because it hath in it a part of reason, and likewise continencie an imperfect vertue, because it hath it part of affection: therefore mée thinke that it cannot be saide that the offences of the incontinent come of ignorance, or that they be deceiued and offend not, when they know for a truth that they do offend. The L. Octauian answered: Certes (M. Peter) your argument is good, yet (in my minde) it is more apparant than true. For although the incontinent offend with that doubtfulnesse, and reason in their mind striueth against grædie desire, and that that is ill, seemeth vnto them to be ill indeed, yet haue they no perfect knowledge of it, nor vnderstand it so throughly as nædе requireth. Therefore of this, it is rather a feeble opinion in them, than certaine knowledge, whereby they agrée to haue reason ouercome by affection: but if they had in them true knowledge, there is no doubt, but they would not offend: because euermore the thing whereby grædie desire ouercommeth reason, is ignorance, neither can true knowledge bée ouercome by affection, that procædeth from the body, and not from the minde; and in case that it be well ruled and gouerned by reason, it becommeth a vertue: if not, it becommeth a vice. But such force reason hath, that she maketh the sense allwayes to obey, and by wonderous meanes and wayes pierceth, least ignorance should

Reason.

Incontinencie

Continencie.

Ignorance.

possesse

poſſeſſe that which ſhée ought to haue: ſo that although the ſpirites, and the ſinewes, and the bones haue no reaſon in them, yet when there ſpringeth in vs the motion of minde, that the imagination (as it were) pricketh forwarde, and ſhaketh the bridle to the ſpirites, all the members are in a readineſſe, the feete to runne, the handes to take or to do that which the minde thinketh vpon, and this is alſo manifeſtly knowne in many, which vnwitting otherwhile eate ſome loathſome and abhorring meate, but ſo well dreſſed, that to their taſte it appeareth moſt delicate: afterwarde vnderſtanding what manner a thing it was, it doth not onely grieue them and loathe them in their minde, but the bodie agreeth alſo with the iudgement of the minde, that of force they caſt that meate vp againe. The L. Octauian followed on ſtill in his talke, but the L. Iulian interrupting him: My Lord Octauian (quoth hée) if I haue well vnderſtoode, you haue ſaide that Continencie is an vnperfect vertue, becauſe it hath in it parte of affection: and mée ſéemeth that the vertue (where there is in our minde a variance betwéene reaſon and grédie deſire) which fighteth and giueth the victorie to reaſon, ought to be reckned more perfect, than that which ouercommeth, hauing neither grédie deſire, nor any affection to withſtand it: becauſe (it ſéemeth) that that minde abſtaineth not from ill for vertues ſaake, but reſtraineth the doing it, becauſe he hath no will to it.

Then the L. Octauian ſpake: Which (quoth he) would you eſtéeme the valianter Captaine, either he that hazardeth himſelfe in open fight, and notwithſtanding vanquiſheth his enemies: or he that by his vertue and knowledge weakeneth them in bringing them in caſe not able to fight, and ſo without battaile or any ieopardie diſcomfiteth them? He (quoth the Lord Iulian) that ouercommeth with moſt ſuretie, is out of doubt moſte to bée prailed, ſo that this aſſured victorie of his, proceéde not through the ſlackneſſe of his enemies. The Lorde Octauian anſwered: You haue iudged aright. And therefore I ſay vnto you, that continencie may be compared to a Captaine that fighteth manly, and though his enemie be ſtrong & wel appointed, yet giueth he them the ouerthrowe, but for all that not without much adoe & daunger.

But

Temperance. But temperance frée from all disquieting, is like the Captaine that without resistance ouercommeth and raigneth. And hauing in the minde where she is, not onely asswaged, but cleane quenched the fire of grédie desire, euen as a good Prince in ciuill warre dispatcheth the seditious inward enemies, and giueth the Scepter and whole rule to reason, so in like case this vertue not enforcing the minde, but powring thereinto through most quiet wayes a vehemente perswasion that maye encline him to honestie, maketh him quiet and full of rest, in euerie parte equall and of good proportion: and on euery side framed of a certaine agrément with himselfe, that filleth him with such a cleare calmenesse, that hée is neuer out of patience: and becommeth wholy and most obedient to reason, and readie to turne vnto her all his motions, and follow her where she list to leade him, without any resistance, like a tender lambe that runneth, standeth, and goeth alwayes by the Ewes side, and moueth only as he seeth her do. This vertue therefore is most perfect, and is chiefly requisite in Princes, because of it arise many other. Thē the L. Cæsar Gōzaga said: I wot not (quoth he) what vertues requisit for Princes may arise of this temperance, if it bée thée that ridseth the minde of affections (as you say) which perhappes were méete for some Monke, or Hermite, but I cannot see how it should be requisite for a Prince that is couragious, frée-hearted, and of prowesse in martial feates, for whatsoeuer is done to him, neuer to haue anger, hatred, good will, disdaine, lust, nor any affection in him: nor how without this hée can gette him authoritie among the people and Souldiers. The Lorde Octauian answered: I haue not saide that temperance should throughly ridde and rote out of mens mindes affections: neither should it be well so to do, because there bee yet in affections some partes good: but that which in affections is corrupt and striuing against honestie, thée bringeth to obey vnto reason. Therefore it is not méete, to ridde the troublesome disquietnesse of the minde, to rote vp affections cleane, for this were as if to auoyd drunkennesse, there should bée an acte established, that no man should drinke wine: or because otherwhile in running a man taketh a fall, euery man should be forbid running.

Harke

Marke them that breake horses, they breake them not from their running and comming on lofte, but they will haue them to doe it at the time and obedience of the Rider. The affections therefore that be clensed and tried by temperance are assistant to vertue, as anger, that helpeth manlinesse: hatred against the wicked, helpeth iustice, and likewise the other vertues are aided by affections, whiche in case they were cleane taken away, they woulde leaue reason verie feeble and fainte, so that it shoulde little preuaile, like a shippe-maister that is without winde in a greate calme. Maruaile yée not then (my L. Cæsar) if I haue saide, that of temperance arise many other vertues: for when a minde is in tune with this harmony, by the meane of reason hée easily receiueth afterward true manlinesse, which maketh him bolde and safe from all daunger, and (in a manner) aboue worldly passions. Likewise Iustice an vndefiled virgine, friend to sober moode and goodnesse, quéene of all other vertues, because shée teacheth to doo that, which a man ought to doe, and to shunne that a-man ought to shunne, and therefore is shée most perfect, because through her the workes of the other vertues are brought to passe, and shée is a helpe to him that hath her, both for himselfe and for others: without the which (as it is commonly saide) Iupiter himselfe could not well gouerne his kingdome. Stoutnesse of courage doth also follow after these, and maketh them all the greater, but shée cannot stand alone, because who so hath not other vertues, cannot be of a stout courage. Of these then wisedome is guide, which consisteth in a certaine iudgement to choose well. And in this happie chaine are also linked liberalitie, sumptuousnesse, the desire to saue a mans estimation, méekenesse, pleasantnesse, courteste in talke, and many other which is now no time to speake of. But in case our Courtier will doo as we haue said, he shall finde them all in his Princes minde: and daily hée shall sée spring such beautifull flowers and fruites, as all the delicious gardens in the world haue not the like: And he shall féele very great contentation within himself, whē he remembreth that he hath giuen him, not the things which foolish persons giue, which is, golde, or siluer, plate, garments, and such matters, whereof hée that giueth them hath himselfe very great scarcitie,

True manlinesse.

Iustice.

Stoutnesse of courage.

Wisedome.

The way to gouerne well.

 and

and he that receiueth them exceeding great things: but that benefite, which perhaps among all the matters that belong vnto man, is the chiefest and rarest, that is to say, the manner and way to rule and raigne in the right kind: Which alone were sufficient to make men happy, and to bring once againe into the worlde the golden age, which is written to haue beene when Saturnus raigned in the olde time. Here when the L. Octauian had paused a little as though he would haue taken respite, the L. Gaspar sayd: Which reckon you (my L. Octauian) the happiest gouernment and that were most to purpose to bring into the world againe that golden age which you haue made mention of, either the raigne of a good Prince, or the gouernance of a good Common weale?

The raigne of a good Prince

The L. Octauian answered, I would alwayes prefer the raigne of a good Prince, because it is a good government more agreeable to nature, and if it be lawfull to compare small matters with infinite, more like vnto Gods, which one, and alone gouerneth the vniuersall.

But leauing this, ye see that in what soeuer is brought to passe with the policie of man, as armies, great sailing vessels, buildings, and other like matters, the whole is committed to one alone, to dispose thereat his will. Likewise in our bodie al the members trauell and are occupied as the heart thinketh good. Beside this, it seemeth meete that people should as well be gouerned by one Prince, as many other liuing creatures be, whome nature teacheth this obedience, as a most soueraigne matter. Marke ye whether Beare, Cranes, and many other foules, when they take their flight do not alwayes set a Prince before, whome they follow and obey. And Bees (as it were) with discourse of reason and with such reuerence honour their king, as the most obedientest people in the world can do. And therefore all this is a very great argument that the soueraignty of a Prince is more according to nature, then a Common weales. Then Maister Peter Bembo, and me thinke (quoth he) that since God hath giuen his liberty for a soueraigne gift, it is no reason that it should be taken from vs: not that one man should be partner of it more then another, which happeneth vnder the rule of Princes, who for the most part keepe their people in more straight.

Liberty.

straight bondage. But in Common-weales wel in order this libertie is well kept. Beside that, both in iudgements and in aduisements it happeneth oftner that the opiniō of one alone is false, than the opinion of many, because troublous affection either through anger, or through spight, or through lust, sooner entreth into the minde of one alone than into the multitudes, whiche (in a manner) like a great quantitie of water, is lesse subiect to corruption, than a small deale. I say againe, that the example of the beastes and fowles doeth not make to purpose, for both Deere and Cranes and the reste, doe not alwayes sette one and the selfe foremost for them to follow and obey, but they stil change and vary, giuing this preferment sometime to one, other while to another, and in this manner it becommeth rather the forme of a Common weale, than of a kingdome, and this may be called a true and equal libertie; when they that sometime commaund, obey againe an otherwhile. The example likewise of the Bees (mee thinke) is not alike, because that king of theirs is not of their owne kinde: And therefore hee that will giue vnto men a worthie head indeede, must be faine to finde him of an other kinde, and of a more noble nature than mans, if men (of reason) should obey him, as flockes and heardes of cattell that obey, not a beast theyr like, but a shepheard and a hearoman, which is a man, and of a more worthie kind then theirs. For these respects, I think (my Lorde Octauian) the gouernment of a Common-weale is more to bee coueted, than of a King. Then the Lord Octauian, against your opinion, M. Peter (quoth hee) I wil alleage but one reason: whiche is, that of wayes to rule people well, there bee only three kindes. The one a kingdome. The other, the rule of good men, whiche they of olde time called *Optimates*. The third, the gouernance of the people. And the transgressing (to terme it so) and contrary vice that euery one of these is chaunged into being appayred and corrupted, is when the kingdome becommeth a Tyrannie, and when the gouernance of good men is chaunged into the handes of a fewe greate men and not good: and when the rule of the people is, at the disposition of the communaltie, whiche malaugh a medlie of the orders, suffereth the gouernance

Three kindes of waies to rule.

 of

of the whole at the will of the multitude. Of these three ill gouernments (it is sure) the Tirannie is the worst of all, as it may be proued by many reason. It followeth then, that of the three good, the Kingdome is the best, because it is contrary to the worse, (for as you knowe) the effects of contrarie causes, they be also contrary among themselues.

Now as touching that which you haue spoken of libertie, I answere, that true libertie ought not to be said to liue as a man will, but to liue according to good lawes. And to obey, is no lesse naturall, profitable and necessarie, then to commaund. And some things are borne and so appointed and ordained by nature to commaund, as some other to obeysance. Truth it is, that there be two kindes of bearing rule, the one lordly and forcible, as maisters ouer slaues, and in this doth the soule commaunde the bodye, The other more milde and tractable, as good Princes by way of the lawes ouer their Subiectes, and in this reason commaundeth gredie desire. And each of these two wayes is profitable, because the body is created of nature apt to obey the soule, and so is desire and reason. There be also many men, whose doings bee applyed onely about the vse of the body: and such as these bee, are so farre wide from the vertuous, as the soule from the body, and yet because they bee reasonable creatures, they bee so much partners of reason, as they do no more but knowe it, for they possesse it not, ne yet haue they the vse of it. These therefore be naturally bondmen, and better it is for them, and more profitable to obey, than to beare sway. Then said the Lord Gaspar: In what manner wise be they then to be commaunded, that be discrete and vertuous, and not by Nature bound? The L. Octauian answered: With that tractable commandement, kingly and ciuill. And to such it is wel done otherwhile to commit the bearing of such offices as be meete for them, that they may like wise beare sway and rule ouer others of lesse wit than they bee, yet so that the principall gouernment may full and wholly depende vppon the chiefe Prince. And because you haue saide, that it is an easier matter to coniecte the minde of one, than of a great sorte, I say, that it is also an easier matter to finde one good, a wise, than a great

Two kindes of waies to beare swinge.

How good men be to be ruled.

great loxe. Both god and wise ought a man to suppose a king may bee of a noble progeny, inclined to a vertue of his owne naturall motion, and through the famous memory of his auncestoures, and brought vp in her god conditions. And though he be not of an other kinde then man, as you haue sayd is among the Bees, yet if he be helped forward with the instructions, bringing vp, and arte of the Courtier, whome these Lordes haue fashioned so wise and good, he shall be most wise, most continent, most temperate, most manly, and most iust, full of liberalitie, maiestie, holinesse, and mercy: finally, he shall be most glorious and most deerely beloued both of God and man: through whose grace he shall attaine vnto that Heroicall and noble vertue, that shall make him passe the boundes of the nature of man, and shall rather be called a Demy God, then a man mortall. For God delighteth in, and is the defender not of those Princes that will follow and counterfaite him in shewing great power, and make themselues to be worshipped of men, but of such as beside power, wherby they are mighty, endeuour themselues to resemble him also in goodnesse and wisedome, whereby they may haue a will and a knowledge to do wel and to be his ministers, distributing for the behoofe of man, the benefites and giftes that they receiue of him.

A King.

God the defender of good Princes.

Therefore euen as in the firmament the Sunne and the Moone and the other Starres shewe to the world (as it were) in a glasse, a certaine likenesse of God: So vpon the earth a much more liker Image of God are those good Princes that loue and worship him, and shew vnto the people the clere light of his iustice, accompanied with a shadow of the heauenly reason and vnderstanding: And such as these be doth God make partners of his true dealing, righteousnes, iustice and goodnesse, and of those other happy benefites which I cannot name, that disclose vnto the worlde a much more euident proofe of the Godhead, then doth the light of the Sunne, or the continuall turning of the firmament with the sundry course of the Starres.

A good prince an Image of God.

It is God therefore that hath appointed the people vnder the custody of Princes, which ought to haue a diligent care ouer them that they may make him account of it, as good Stewardes do their

Lord, and loue them and thinke their owne, all the profit and losse that happeneth to them, and principally aboue all thinges prouide for their good estate and welfare. Therefore ought the Prince not onely to bee good, but also to make others good, like the Carpenters square, that is not onely straite and iust it selfe, but also maketh straite and iust whatsoeuer it is occupied about. And the greatest proofe that the Prince is good, is when the people are good: because the life of the Prince is a law and ring-leader of citizens, and vpon the conditions of him must needes all other depend: neither is it meete for one that is ignorant, to teach: nor for him that is out of order, to giue order: nor for him that falleth, to helpe vppe another.

The life of the king a law to the people.

Therefore if the Prince will execute these offices aright, it is requisite that he apply all his study and diligence to get knowledge, afterwarde to fashion within himselfe and obserue vnchangeably in euery thing the law of reason, not written in papers, or in mettall, but grauen in his owne minde, that it may bee to him alwayes not onely familiar, but inwarde, and liue with him, as a parcell of him: to the intent it may night and day, in euery time and place admonish him, and speake to him within his heart, ridding him of those troublous affections that vntemperate mindes feele, which because on the one side they bee (as it were) cast into a most deepe sleepe of ignorance, on the other ouerwhelmed with the vnquietnesse which they feele through their wayward and blinde desires, they are stirred with an vnquiet rage, as hee that sleepeth otherwhile with straunge and horrible visions: heaping then a greater power vpon their naughty desire, there is heaped also a greater trouble withall. And when the Prince can do what he will, then is it great ieoperdy least he wil the thing that he ought not. Therfore said Bias well, that promotions declare what men be: for euen as vessels while they are empty, though they haue some chinke in them it can ill be perceiued, but if they be filled with licour, they shewe by and by on what side the fault is, so corrupt and ill disposed mindes seldome discouer their vices, but when they bee filled with authoritie. For then they are not able to carrie the heauie burden of power, but forsake themselues, and scatter on euerie

Bias saying.

Authorities disclose vices.

side

side greedie desire, wrath, solemnesse, and such tyrannicall fashio- Tyrants.
ons as they haue within them. Whereupon without regard they persecute the good and wise, and promote the wicked. And they cannot abide to haue friendships, assemblies and conferences among Cittizens in Cities. But maintaine spies, promoters, murtherers and cutthrotes to put men in feare, & make them to become faintharted. And they sow debate and strife to keepe them in diuision and weake. And of these maners ensue infinite damages, and the vtter vndoing of the poore people, and oftentimes cruell slaughter, or at the leaste continuall feare to the Tirants themselues. For good princes feare not for themselues, but for their sakes whom they rule ouer: and Tirants feare very them whome they rule ouer. Therfore the more number of people they rule ouer, and the mightier they are, the more is their feare, and the more enimies they haue. How feareful (thinke you) and of what vnquiet minde was Clearus Tyrant of Pontus, euery time he went into the mar- Clearus.
ket place, or into the Theater, or to any bancket, or other haunted place? For (as it is written) he slept shut into a chest. Or Aristodemus of Argos? which of his bed had made to himselfe a prison (or litle better) for in his palace he had a litle roome hanging in the aire, and so high that he shoulde clime to it with a ladder, and there slept hee with a woman of his, whose mother ouernight tooke away the ladder, and in the morning sette it too againe. Cleane contrary to this therefore ought the life of a good Prince to bee free and safe, and as deare to his subiectes as their owne: and so framed, that hee may haue a part of both the doing and beholding life, as much as shall bee behoouefull for the benefite of his people. Then the Lorde Gaspar: And whiche of the two liues, my Lorde Octauian (quoth hee) doo you thinke moste meete for a Prince? The Lorde Octauian answered smiling: ye thinke perhappes that I stande in mine own conceit to be the excellent Courtier that ought to know so many matters, and to apply them to the good end I haue spoken of. But remember your selfe, that these Lords haue fashioned him with many qualities that bee not in mee: therefore lette vs first doe oure beste to finde him out, for I remitte mee to him both in this and in all other thinges that belong to a good Prince.

Then the L. Gaspar: I thinke (quoth he) that if any of the qualities given the Courtier want in you, it is rather musicke and daunsing, and the rest of small account, than such as belong to the instructing of a Prince, and to this ende of Courtlinesse. The Lord Octauian answered: They are not of small account all of them that helpe to purchase a man the fauour of a Prince, which is necessarie (as wee haue said) before the Courtier aduenture to teach him vertue, the which (I trowe) I haue shewed you may bee learned, and profiteth as much as ignorance hurteth, whereof spring all vices, and especially that false liking a man hath of himselfe. Therefore (in mine opinion) I haue sufficiently said, and perhappes more than my promise was. Then the Dutchesse: Wee shall bee so much the more bounde (quoth shee) to your gentlenesse, as yee shall satisfie vs more than promise. Therefore sticke not to saye your phansie concerning the Lorde Gaspars request. And of good fellowshippe shewe vs beside whatsoeuer you would teach your Prince if hee had neede of instructions: and put the case that you haue throughly gotten his fauour, so as it may bee lawfull for you to tell him frankely what euer commeth in your minde. The Lord Octauian laughed, and saide: If I had the fauour of some Prince that I knowe, and should tell him frankely mine opinion (I doubt mee) I shoulde soone lose it: Beside that, to teach him, I should neede first to learne my selfe.

Notwithstanding, since it is your pleasure that I shall answere the Lord Gaspar in this point also, I say, that (in my minde) Princes ought to giue themselues both to the one and the other of the two liues, but yet somewhat more to the beholding: Because this in them is deuided into two partes, whereof the one consisteth in knowing well, and iudging: the other in commanding aright, and in suche wise as it should bee done, and reasonable matters, and such as they haue authoritie in, commaunding them to him, that of reason ought to obey, and in time and place accordingly. And of this also spake Duke Fridericke when hee saide: Hee that can commaunde, is alwayes obeyed. And to commaunde, is euermore the principall office of Princes, which notwithstanding ought many times also to bee with

Vita contemplatiua.

with their eyes, and to bee present at the deede doing, and according to the time and the businesse, otherwhile also be doing themselues, and yet hath all this a part with action or practise. But the ende of the active or doing life, ought to be the beholding, as of warre, peace, and of paines, rest. Therefore is it also the office of a good Prince, so to trade his people, and with such lawes and statutes, that they may liue in rest and in peace, without danger, and with encrease of wealth, and enioy peaceablye this ende of theyr practises and actions, which ought to be quietnesse. Because there haue bene oftentimes many Common-weales and Princes, that in warre were alwayes most flourishing and mightie, and immediately after they haue had peace, fell in decay, and lost their puissance and brightnesse, like Iron vnoccupied. And this came of nothing else, but because they had no good trade of liuing in peace, nor the knowledge to enioy the benefite of ease. And it is not a matter lawfull to bee alwayes in warre without seeking at the ende to come to a peace: Although some Princes suppose that their drift ought principally to bee, to bring in subiection their borderers, and therefore traine vp their children in a warlike wildernesse of spoile, and murther, and such matters: they wage them to exercise it, and call it vertue.

Vita actiua.

How to trade people.

Whereupon in the olde time it was an vsage among the Scythes, that who so hadde not slaine some enemie of his, could not drinke in solemne banquets of the goblet that was carried about to his companions. In other places the manner was to reare about ones sepulture so many Obelisker, as he that lay there buried had slaine of his enemies. And all these things and many moe, were inuented to make men warlike, only to bring others in subiection, which was a matter (almost) impossible, because it is an infinite peece of worke, vntill all the worlde be brought vnder obeisance: and not very reasonable, according to the law of nature, Which will not haue, that in others the thing should please vs, which in our selues is a griefe to vs. Therefore ought Princes to make theyr people warrelike, not for a greedie desire to rule, but to defende themselues the better, and theyr owne people, from

A custome among the Scythes.

Great high square stones, smaller and smaller vnto the top.

Why Princes should make their people warlike.

who so would attempt to bring them in bondage, or to doe them wrong in any point: Or else to driue out Tyrants, and to gouerne the people well, that were ill handled. Or else to bring into bondage them, that of nature were such, that they deserued to be made bondmen, with entent to gouerne them well, and to giue them ease, rest, and peace. And to this ende also ought to be applyed the lawes, and all statutes of iustice, in punishing the ill, not for malice, but because there should be no ill, and least they should be a hindrance to the quiet liuing of the good. Because in very deede it is an vncomely matter and worthy of blame, that in warre (which of it selfe is nought) men should shewe themselues stout and wise, and in peace and reste (which is good) ignoraunt, and so blockish that they wist not how to enioy a benefite. Euen as therefore in warre they ought to bend their people to the profitable and necessarie vertues to come by the ende (which is peace) so in peace, to come by the ende thereof also (which is quietnesse) they ought to bend them to honest vertues, which bee the ende of the profitable. And in this wise shall the subiectes bee good, and the Prince shall haue many mee to commend and rewarde, than to chastise. And the rule both for the subiects and for the Prince shalbe most happie, not Lordly, as the maister ouer his bondman, but soft and meeke, as a good father ouer his good childe. Then the L. Gaspar: Gladly (quoth he) would I vnderstand what manner vertues these are, that be profitable and necessarie in warre, and what honest in peace. The L. Octauian answered: All be good, and helpe the turn, because they tend to a good end. Yet chiefly in war is much set by that true manlynesse, which maketh the minde voyde from all passions, so that he not onely feareth not perils, but passeth not vpon them. Likewise steadfastnes, and patience, abiding with a quiet and vntroubled minde all the stroke of fortune. It is behouefull likewise in war and at all other times to haue all the vertues that belong to honestie, as iustice, stayednesse, sober moode: but much more in peace and rest, because oftentimes men in prosperitie and reste, when fauourable fortune fauneth vppon them, ware vnrighteous, vntemperate, and suffer themselues to be corrupted with pleasures. Therefore such as bee in this state haue very

The end of the lawes.

Manlinesse.

Seadfastnesse.

Rest.

very great nede of these vertues, because rest bringeth ill conditions to some into mens mindes: Wherevpon arose a Prouerbe in olde time, that Rest is not to bee giuen to bondmen: And it is thought that the Pirámides of Egipt were made to kéepe the people occupied, because Vnto euery man, vse to abide paine is most profitable. There be moreover many other vertues, al helpful, but it sufficeth for this time to haue spoken thus much: for if I could teach my Prince, and traine him in this manner, and so vertuous a bringing vp (as we haue set forth) in doing it without any more (I would beléeue that I had sufficiently well compassed the end of a good Courtier. Then the L. Gaspar (Mr L. Octauian (quoth he): because you haue much praised good bringing vp, and seemed (in a manner) to beléeue that it is the chiefe cause to make a man vertuous and good, I would knowe whether the Courtiers instructing of his Prince, ought to begin first of ble, and (as it were) dayly fashions, ý vnwares to him may make him to accustome himselfe to well doing: or else whether hee ought to begin it himselfe in opening vnto him with reason the propertie of good and euill, and in making him to perceiue before he take the matter in hãd, which is the good way, and to bée followed, and which is the euill, and to be shunned: finally, whether into ý minde of his the vertues ought to be driuen, and grounded with reason and vnderstanding first, or with custome. The L. Octauian saide: You bring me into ouerlong a discourse: yet because ye shall not thinke that I will slacke, for that I am not willing to make answere to your requestes, I say, that like as the soule and the body in vs are two things, so is the soule diuided into two partes: whereof the one hath in it reason, and the other appetite. Euen as therefore in generation the body goeth before the soule, so doth the vnreasonable part of the soule goe before the reasonable: the which is plainely to be discerned in young Babes, who (in a maner) immediately after their birth bitter anger and feruent appetite, but afterwarde in processe of time reason appeareth. Therefore firste muste the bodye bée cherished before the soule: after that, the appetite before reason: but the cherishing of the body for a respect to the soule, and of the appetite for a respect to reason. For as the vertue of the

Huge great stones steeple wise.

Reason. Appetite.

the minde is made perfect with learning, so is the child with custome. Therefore ought there to be a ground made first with custome, which may governe the appetites not yet apt to conceive reason, and with that good vse leade them to good rule: afterwards settle them with vnderstanding, the which although she be last to shewe her light, yet doth she the more perfectly make the vertues to be enioyed of who so hath his minde well instructed with manners, wherein (in mine opinion) consisteth the whole. The L. Gaspar said: Before ye proceed any further, I would know how the body should be cherished: because you haue said that we must cherish it before the soule. The L. Octauian answered smiling: Knowe of these men that make much of it, and are faire and rounde, as for mine (as you see) it is not halfe well cherished. Yet may there also bee much said in this behalfe: As, the time meete for marriage, that children bee neither too nigh nor too farre off from the fathers age: Exercises, and bringing vp some after their birth, and in the rest of their life to make them handsome, towardly, and lively. The L. Gaspar answered: The thing that would best please women to make their children handsome and well fauoured (in my mind) were the fellowship that Plato wil haue of them in his Common weale, and in that wise.

Cherishing of the body.

Then the L. Emilia smiling: It is not in ỹ couenant (quoth she) that ye should a fresh fall to speake ill of women. I suppose answered the L. Gaspar, ỹ I giue them a great praise in saying that they should desire to haue a custome brought vp, which is allowed of so worthy a man. The L. Cæsar Gonzaga laughing, saide: Let vs see whether among ỹ L. Octauians lessons (yet I wot not whether hee haue spoken al or no) this may take place: and whether it were wel done ỹ prince should establish it for a law or no. The fewe ỹ I haue spoken, answered ỹ L. Octauiã, may perhaps be inough to make a good prince, as princes go now a dayes. As though if Octauian would go more narowly to worke in the matter, there were much more for him yet to say. Then said the duchesse: Since it lyeth vs nothing but wordes, shewe vs of good fellowshippe that, that would come in your minde to teach your Prince. The Lord Octauian

answered:

answered: Many other matters I would teach him (Madam) if I knew them my selfe: and among the rest, that he should picke out a certaine number of Gentlemen among his subiects, of the noblest and wisest, with whom hee should debate all matters, and giue them authority and free leaue to vtter their minde frankely vnto him without any respect: and take such order with them, that they maye well perceiue, that in euerie thing hee woulde knowe the truth, and abhorre lying. And beside this Councell of the Nobilitie, I would perswade him to chuse out others among the people of a baser degree, of whome he should make an honest substantiall Councell, that should debate with the Councell of the Nobilitie the affaires of the Citie, belonging to the common and priuate estate. And in this wise should bee made, of the Prince, as of the head, of the nobilitie and commons, as of the members, one body alone knitte together, the gouernance whereof should chiefly depend vppon the Prince, yet should the rest beare a stroake also in it: and so should this state haue the forme and manner of the three good gouernments, which is, a kingdome, men of the best sort, and the people. Afterwarde I would shewe him, that of cares belonging to a Prince, the chiefest is of iustice: for maintenance whereof, wise and wel tried men should bee chosen out for officers, whose wisedome were very wisedome indeed, accompanied with gentlenesse, for else it is no wisedome, but craft. And where there is a want of this gentlenesse, alwaies the Art and subtill practise of Lawyers is nothing else, but the vtter decay and destruction of the lawes and iudgementes: and the fault of euerie offence of theirs is to bee laide in him that put them in office.

A councell of noble men.

A councell of the common.

Cares in a Prince.

I would tel him how of iustice also dependeth the zeale toward God, which belongeth vnto al men, and especially to Princes, who ought to loue him aboue all things, & to direct all their doings vnto him, as vnto the true end: And (as Xenophon saith) to honour and loue him alwaies, but much more in prosperitie, because they may afterward lawfully with a more confidence call to him for assistance when they be in any aduersitie: for it is not possible to governe either himselfe or others well, without the helpe of God, who

Godly affectiõ

vnto

vnto the good sendeth otherwhile good fortune for his Minister, to helpe them out of great dangers, sometime aduersitie, least they should slumber so much in prosperitie, that they might happen to forgette him, or the wisedome of man, which many times redresseth ill fortune, as a good Player the ill chaunces of the dice, with cunning play at Tables: I would not forgette also to putte the Prince in minde to bee deuout indeede, nor superstitious, nor giuen to the vanitie of ignorancie and prophesies: for in case hee haue accompanied with the wisedome of man, a godly zeale and true religion, he shall also haue good lucke, and God his defender, who will alwayes encrease his prosperitie both in peace and warre. Beside, I would declare vnto him how hee should loue his Countrey and his people, keeping them not in too much bondage, for being hated of them, whereof arise seditions, conspiracies, and a thousand mischiefes beside: nor yet in too much libertie, least hee be set at nought, whereof proceedeth the licentious, and riotous liuing of the people, theft, robberie, and murther, without any feare of lawes, oftentimes the decay and vtter destruction of Cities and kingdomes. Moreouer, how hee should loue them that hee enghest to him from one degree to another, obseruing among them all in certain matters a like equalitie, as in iustice, and libertie, and in some matters a reasonable partialitie, as in being liberall, in recompencing, in bestowing promotions and honors according to the vnequalnesse of defertes, which ought not alwaies to exceed, but to be exceeded with recompences. And yet in thus doing he should not only be beloued, but (in a manner) worshipped of his subiectes, neither should he neede to commit the guarde of his person to straungers, for his owne (for the better saleguarde and profitte of themselues) would guarde him with their own person: and each man would willingly obey the sakes, when they should see him to obey them himselfe, and bee as it were an vncorrupted keeper and minister of them: and so shall hee make all men to conceiue such an assured confidence of him, that if hee shoulde happen otherwhile to goe beyonde them in any poynte, euerie one would know it were done for a good intent: the selfesame respect and reuerence they would haue to his will, as they

To loue his Countrey and people.

Equalitie. Partialitie.

haue

haue to the lawes. And thus should the Citizens mindes be tempered in such sorte, that the good would not seeke for more then is requisite, and the bad should not perish: because many times abundance of wealth is cause of great destruction, as in poore Italy, which hath beene and still is, a pray and booty in the teeth of straunge nations, aswell for the ill gouernment, as for the abundance of riches that is in it.

To much wealth.

Therefore the best way were, to haue the greater part of the citizens, neither very wealthy, nor very poore: because the ouerwelthy many times waxe stiffe necked and recklesse, the poore desperate and piking. But the meane sorte lye in wayte for others, and liue with a quiet minde that none lie in waite for them. And where this meane sorte are the greater number, they are withall the mightier. And therefore neither the poore nor rich can worke any conspiracie against the Prince, or against others, nor moue sedition. Wherefore to auoide this euill, the most surest way is vniuersally to maintaine a meane. I would counsell him therefore to vse these and many other remedies for the purpose, that in the minde of subiects there spring not a longing after new matters and alteration of state, which most commonly they do, either for gaine, or else for promotion that they hope vpon, or for losse, or else for some foile that they be afeard of. And these stirres in their mindes be engendred somtime of hatred and despight, that maketh them desperate for the wrongs and vnshamefull dealing that they receiue through the coueteousnesse, pride, and cruelty, or vnlawfull lust of the higher powers: Otherwhile of a contempt and little regard that ariseth in them through negligence and ill handling and lacke of forsight in Princes. And these two faultes must bee preuented with purchasing him the loue of the people, and authoritie, which is done in rewarding and promoting the good and in finding wisely a remedy, and sometime with rigour, that the euill and seditious waxe not great: The which thinge is easier to bee stopped before they come to it, then to plucke them downe againe after they are once on loft. And I would say, to restrayne the people from running into those inconueniences, there is no better way then to keepe them from ill customes, and especially such as bee

How to order his Citizens.

Alteration of state.

Exhortatiō of the higher powers.

Lacke of wisedome in Princes.

That the euil wax not great.

Ill custome.

put

put in vse, and crépe in maners by little and little, because they be secret infections that corrupt Cities before a man can not onely remedie them, but spie them out. With such meanes I would counsell the Prince to do his best to preserue his subiects in quiet estate, and to giue them the goods of the minde, and of the body, and of fortune: but them of the body and of fortune, that they exercise them of the minde, which the greater and plentifuller they bée, so much the more profitable bee they: that happeneth not in them of the body, nor of fortune: In case therefore the subiectes bée good, and not of worthinesse, and well bent to the ende of happinesse, that Prince shall be a very great Lord: for that is a true and a great gouernment, vnder the which the subiectes bée good, well ruled, and well commaunded. Then the Lord Gaspar spake: I suppose (quoth he) that he should bée but a small Lorde, vnder whome the subiectes were all good. For in euery place there be fewe good. The Lord Octauian answered: In case some certaine Cerce should turne into wilde beasts all the French Kings subiectes, would not you thinke him a small Lorde for all hée raigned ouer so many thousande beastes? And contrariwise, if onely the cattell that do scatter abroade feeding about our Mountaines héere, might become wise men, and baliaunt Gentlemen, would not you thinke that Heardmen that should gouerne them, and haue them obedient to them, of heardmen were become greate Lordes? You may see then, that not the multitude of subiects, but the worthinesse of them maketh Princes great. The Dutchesse, the Lady Emilia, and all the rest, gaue very diligent eare to the L. Octauians talke for a good while together, but after hée had héere made a little stoppe, as though he had made an ende of his talke, the L. Cesar Gonzaga said: Certes (my Lord Octauian) it cannot be said, but your lessons be good and profitable: yet should I beléeue, that if ye instructed your Prince with them, ye deserued rather the name of a Schoolemaister, than of a good Courtier: and he of a good gouernour, rather than of a good prince. Yet my meaning is not, but that the care of Princes should bée to haue their people well ruled with iustice and good lawes, notwithstanding it maye bee sufficient for them (in my minde) to

Goods of the minde, of the body, and of fortune.

Not the multitude, but the worthy.

chose

chose out good ministers to execute these kinde of matters, but the very office of them is farre higher. Therefore if I thought my selfe to be the excellent Courtier that these Lordes have fashioned, and in my Princes favour, without peradventure I would never encline him to any vitious matter: but to attaine vnto the good ende that you speake of, and the which I confirme ought to bee the fruite of the Courtiers travels and doings, I would endevour to put into his head a certaine greatnesse, with that princely sumptuousnesse, and readinesse of courage, and vnconquered prowesse in armes, that should make him beloved and reverenced of all men, in such wise, that for this in especiall hee should bee famous and notable to the worlde. I would shewe him also, that hee ought to accompany with his greatnesse a familiar gentle behaviour, with a soft and lovely kindenesse, and good cast to make much of his subiectes and straungers, discretely, more and lesse according to their deserts, observing alwayes notwithstanding the maiestie meete for his degree, that should not in any point suffer him to diminish his authoritie through overmuch abasing, nor yet purchase him hatred through over-lowe rigorousnesse: that hee ought to bee full of liberalitie, and sumptuous, and give vnto every man without stint, for God (as they say) is the Treasurer of free-hearted Princes: make gorgious banquets, feastes, games, people-pleasing shewes, keepe a great number of faire horses for profit in warre, and for pleasure in peace: hawkes, hounds, and all other matters that belong to the contentation of great Princes and the people. As in our dayes we have seene the L. Francis Gonzaga Marquesse of Mantua do, which in these daies seemeth rather king of all Italy, then Lord of one Citie.

Marquesse of Mantua.

I would allay also to bring him to make great buildings, both for his honour in life, and to give a memorie of him to his posteritie, as did Duke Fridericke in this noble Pallace, and now doth Pope Iuly in the Temple of Saint Peter, and the way that goeth from the Pallace to his house of pleasure Beluedere, and many other buildings, as also the old auntient Romans did, wherof so many remnants are to be seene about Rome, Naples, Pozzolo, Baie, Civita, Vecchia, Porto, & also out of Italy, & so many other places,

S. Peters Church.

Beluedere.

The great Alexander.

which bée a great witnes of the prowesse of those diuine courages. So did Alexander the great in like maner, which not satisfied with the fame that he got him worthily for subduing the worlde with martiall prowesse, built Alexandria in Egypt, Bucephalia in India, and other Cities in other Countries: and entended to bring the mountaine Athos into the shape of a man, and in the left hand of him to build a very large Cittie, and in the right a great bolle, into the which should gather all the Riuers that ranne from it, and thence should fall downe towarde the Sea, a purpose in very deede Princely and méete for the great Alexander.

Plutar. Athos a hill in Thracia of a wonderfull height.

These thinges (thinke I) my Lord Octauian, become a noble and a right Prince, and shall make him both in peace and warre most triumphant, and not put him in the heade of such particular and small matters, and haue a respect to take weapon in hand only to conquere and vanquish such as deserue to be conquered, or to profit his subiects withal, or to dispossesse them that gouerne not as they ought. For in case that the Romaines, Alexander, Hannibal, and the rest, had had these respects, they should neuer haue reached to the top of the glory they did.

The Lorde Octauian answered then smiling: Such as had not these respectes should haue done the better in case they had had them: Although if ye consider well, ye shall finde that many had them, especially those auncientest of olde time, as Theseus and Hercules. And thinke not that Procustes, Scyron, Caccus, Diomedes, Antheus, and Gerion were any other then cruell and wicked Tyrants, against whome these noble couraged Demigods kept continuall and mortall warre, and therefore for ridding the worlde of such intollerable monsters (for Tyrantes ought not to be called by other name) vnto Hercules were made Temples, and sacrifices, and godly honours were giuen him, because the benefit to rote vp Tyrants is so profitable to the worlde, that whoso doeth it, deserueth a farre greater reward, then whatsoeuer is méet for a mortall man. And of them you haue named. Doe you not think that Alexander did profit with his victories the vanquished? since he so traded those barbarous natiõs which he ouercame with

Tyrannous monsters.

Alexander profited the vanquished.

with suche good manners, that of wilde beastes hee made them men? Hee built many beautifull Cities in Countries ill inhabited, planting therein ciuill kinde of liuing, and (as it were) coupled Asia and Europe together with the bonde of amitie and holy Lawes, so that the vanquished by him were more happie then the rest, because among some he brought in Matrimony: among other, Husbandrie: among other, Religion: among other, not to slaie, but to make much of their Parentes in their olde age: among other, the refraining from bedding with their Mothers, and a thousande other matters, that might bee saide for a witnesse of the profite whiche his victories brought vnto the worlde. But leauing aside them of olde time, what enterprise were more noble, more glorious, and also more profitable than if Christians would bende their force to conquere the Infidelles? Would you not thinke that this warre prosperously atchieued, and being the cause of manye a thousande to bee brought from the false secte of Mahomet to the light of the Christian truth, it should be a profite as well to the vanquished, as to the subduers? And vndoubtedly, as Themistocles in times paste being banished out of his Countrey, and imbraced of the King of Persia, and much made of, and honoured with infinite and most riche giftes, said vnto his traine: Oh sirs, we had bene vndone, had we not bene vndone, euen so might then the Turkes and the Moores speake the very same with good cause, for that in their losse should consist their welfare. Xerxes.

This happinesse therefore (I hope) we shall come to the sight of, if God graunt so long life to Monsigneur d'Angoolesme, that hee may come to the Crowne of France, who sheweth such a hope of himselfe, as foure nights agoe the Lorde Iulian spake of. And to the Crowne of Englande, the Lorde Henry Prince of Wales, who presently groweth vnder his moste noble Father, in all kinde of Vertue, lyke a tender Impe vnder the shadowe of an excellent Tree, and laden with fruite to renewe him muche more beautifull and plentuous when the time shall come, for as our Castilio writeth from thence; and promiseth at his re- King Francis the first. King Henry the eight.

turne to tell vs more at the full, a man can iudge no lesse, but that nature was willing in this Prince to shewe her cunning, planting in one bodie alone so many excellent vertues, as were sufficient to decke out infinite. Then (saide M. Bernard Bibiena) a very great hope of himselfe promiseth also the L. Charles Prince of Spaine, who not yet fully ten yeares of age, declareth now such a wit, and so certaine tokens of goodnesse, wisedome, modestie, noble courage, and of euery vertue, that if the Empire of Christendome (as it is thought) come to his handes, it is to be reckoned vpon, that he will darken the name of many Emperors of old time, and in renowne be compared to the most famous that euer were in the world. The L. Octauian proceeded, I beleeue therefore that God hath sent such and so heauenly Princes vpon the earth, and made them one like another in youth, in mightinesse of armes, in state, in handsomenesse and disposition of person, that they may also be minded alike in this good purpose: and in case any manner enuy or strife of matching others, arise at any time among them, it shall be, who shall be the first, and most enclined and most couragious in so glorious an enterprise. But let vs leaue this kinde of talke, and returne vnto our owne.

The Emperour Charles the fift.

Emulation among Kings.

Vnto you therefore (my L. Cæsar) I say, that such thinges as you would haue the Prince to doe, be very great, and worthie much praise. But you must vnderstand, that if he be not skilfull in that I haue saide he ought to haue a knowledge in, and haue not framed his minde in that wise, and bent it to the way of vertue, it shall be harde for him to haue the knowledge to be noble corraged, liberall, quicke spirited, wise, or to haue any other of those qualities that belong vnto him: neyther would I haue him to be such a one for any other thing, but to haue the vnderstanding to put in vre these conditions (for as they that builde, be not all good workemen, so they that giue, be not liberall) for vertue neuer hurteth any man: and many there bee that laie hande on other mennes goods to giue, and so are lauishe of another mans substance. Some giue to them they ought not, and leaue in wretchednesse and miserie suche as they bee bounde to. Other giue with a certaine kinde of ill will, and (as it were) with a despite, so that it is

Liberalitie.

knowne

knowne they doe it, because they can doe none other. Other doe not onely not kepe it secrete, but they call witnesse of it, and (in a maner) cause their liberalities to be cried. Other foolishly at a suddaine emptie the fountaine of liberalitie, so that afterward they can vse it no more. Therefore in this pointe (as in all other matters) he must haue a knowledge, and gouerne himselfe with the wisedome that is a companion vnto all the other vertues, which for that they are in the midle, be nigh vnto the two extremities, that be vices. Wherefore he that hath not knowledge runneth some into them. For as it is a harde matter in a circle to finde out the pricke in the centre, which is the middle, so is it harde to finde out the pricke of vertue placed in the middle betweene two extreame vices, the one for the ouermuche, and the other for the ouer little, and vnto these wee are enclined, sometime to the one, sometime to the other: and this is knowne by the pleasure and griefe that is felte within vs, for throughe the one wee doe the thing that wee ought not, and throughe the other we leaue vndone that, which wee ought to doe: although pleasure be much more daungerous, because our iudgement is sooner led by it to be corrupted. But because the perseuerance how farre a man is wide from the centre of vertue, is a hard matter, we ought by litle and litle to drawe backe of our selues to the contrary parte of this extremitie, which wee knowe we be enclined vnto, as they doe, that make straight crooked staues, for by that meane we shall drawe nigh vnto vertue, which is placed (as I haue saide) in that pricke of the meane: whereby it commeth that by many wayes bee wide, and by one alone we doe our office and dutie: like as Archers by one way alone hit the marke, and by many misse the pricke. Therefore oftentimes a Prince to be gentle and lowly, doth many things cõtrary to comelinesse, and so humbleth himselfe that he is nought set by. Some other to shewe a grape maiestie with authoritie accoyding, becommeth cruell and vntollerable. Some one, to be counted eloquent, entreth into a thousand straunge matters and long processes, with curious wordes giuing eare to himselfe, so that other men cannot for loathsomenesse heare him.

Knowledge.

Vertue in the middle.

Extremities, vices.

Therefore (my Lorde Cæsar) doe you not call a small matter

any thing that may better a Prince howe small soeuer it bee.

A good prince a good gouernour.

For thinke that I iudge it to bee in the reprowle of my lessons, where you saye, that a good Gouernour instructed therewithall, were then a good Prince: for perhappes there cannot be a greater praise nor more comely for a Prince, than to call him a good Gouernour. Therefore if it should fall to my lotte to instruct him, he should haue a care not onely to gouerne the matters alreadie spoken of, but also farre lesser, and vnderstand in peecemeale whatsoeuer belongeth to his people, as much as were possible: and neuer credite nor trust any officer so much, as to giue him the bridle wholy into his handes, and the disposing of the whole gouernment. For no man is apt to all things. And much more hurt commeth of the light beliefe of Princes, than of mistrusting, whiche otherwhile doth not only not hurt, but oftentimes profiteth exceedingly. Yet in this point a good iudgement is very necessary in a Prince, to discerne who deserueth to be put in trust, and who not. I would hee should haue a care to vnderstand the doings, and to be an ouerseer of his officers and ministers. To breake and to ende controuersies among his subiects. To take vp matters betweene them, and to knit them together in allyance by marriage. To prouide so, that the Citie may be all ioyned together, and agreeing in amitie, like a priuate house, well peopled, not poore, quiet, and full of good Artificers. To shewe fauour to Marchant men, and to helpe them also with stockes. To be liberall and honourable in house keeping towards straungers and religious persons. To temper all superfluous matters, because through the offences committed in these things, albeit they appeare but small, Cities many times fall in decay: therefore it is reason that the Prince set a stint to the ouersumptuous buildings of priuate men, banquetings, vnmeasurable dooeries of women, their riotous excesse, their pompe in Iewelles and apparell, which is nothing else but a token of their folly: for beside that through ambition and malice that one of them beareth an other, they many times lanishe out their liuelode and husbandes substance, otherwhile for some pretie Iewel (or other matter of fansie) sometime they sell their honestie to him that will buy it.

Mistrusting.

The Prince towards his subiects.

Citie.

Marchant-men.

House-keeping.

Superfluous things.

Excesse of women.

Then

Then said M. Bernard Bibiena smiling: You begin (my L. Octauian) to take my L. Gaspare Phrisio part. Then the L. Octauian answered in like maner, smiling. The controuersie is ended, and I intend not now to renue it. Therefore wil I speake no more of women, but returne to my Prince: Phrisio answered: you may now leaue him hardly, and be contented to haue him suche a one as you haue instructed him. For doubtlesse it were an easier matter to finde out a woman of the qualities the Lorde Iulian hath spoken of, than a Prince of the qualities you wolde haue in him. Therefore (I feare mée) hée is like the Common-weale of Plato, and wée shall neuer sée such a one, vnlesse it bee perhappes in Heauen. The L. Octauian answered: thinges possible, though they be harde, yet is it to be hoped that they maye bee: therefore maye wée yet perhappes sée him vppon the earth in our time For although the heauens be so scant in bringing forth excellent Princes, that in so many hundred yeares we do scantly sée one, yet may this good lucke happen to vs. Then said Count Lewis: I haue a good hope of it. For beside the three great ones that we haue named, of whome may be hoped it, that belongeth to the highe degrée of a perfect Prince, there be also now a dayes in Italy certaine Princes children, which although they bee not like to haue suche power, may hap wil supply it with vertue: and he that amõg them all declareth a more towardnesse, and promiseth of himselfe a greater hope than any of the rest (me thinke) is the L. Fridericke Gonzoga, sonne and heire to the Marquesse of Mantua, and Nephewe to our Dutchesse here. For beside the honest inclination to good nourture, and the discretion that hée declareth in these tender yeares, they that haue the bringing vp of him, report such wonderous things as touching his being wittie, desirous of glory, stout harted, courteous, frée-harted, friendly to iustice, so that of so good a beginning, there cannot be looked for but a very good ende.

Good Princes very scant

L. Fridericke Gõzaga Duke of Mantua.

Then Phrisio, well, no more of this (quoth hée) wée will pray vnto God that we may sée this your hope fulfilled. Here the L. Octauian turning him towarde the Dutchesse, after a sorte as though he had ended almach as he had to say: You haue now heard madam (quoth he) what I am able to say of y ende of the Courtier,

wherein though I haue not satisfied in all pointes, it shall suffice me yet, that I haue shewed, that some other perfection may be giuen him, beside the matters which these Lordes haue spoken of, who (I beleeue) haue left out both this and whatsoeuer I am able to say, not because they knewe it not better than I, but because they were loath to take the paines: therefore will I giue them leaue to goe forwarde, if they haue any thing elſe left behinde to bee saide. Then said the Duchesse: Beside that, it is late (for within a while it will bee time for vs to make an ende for this night) me thinke, wee ought not to mingle any other talke with this, wherein you haue gathered together such sundrie and goodly matters, that concerning the ende of Courtlinesse, it may bee saide, that you are not onely the perfect Courtier whome wee seeke for, and able to instruct your Prince well, but also (if fortune bee so fauourable on your side) yee may bee the good Prince your selfe, which should not bee without great profitte to your Countrey. Then laughed the L. Octauian, and saide: Perhappes (Madam) were I in that estate, it would be with me as it is with many others, that can better say well, than do well. Here after a little debating of the matter to and fro among the company, with certaine contentions tending to the commendation of that that had bene spoken, and agreeing on all handes not yet to be bed time, the L. Iulian smiling, saide: Madam, I am so very an enemie to craft and guile, that needes must I speake against the L. Octauian: who for that hee is (as I much doubt him) a secret conspirator with the Lorde Gaspar against women, hath ouershot himselfe in committing two errours (in mine opinion) very great: whereof the one is, that meaning to preferre the Courtier before the Gentlewoman of the Pallace, and to make him to passe those boundes, that hee is not able to reach to: hee hath also preferred him before the Prince, which is most vnseemely. The other, that hee hath giuen him such an ende, that it is euermore hard, & otherwhile vnpossible for him to come by it: and yet when he doth come by it, he ought not to haue the name of a Courtier. I cannot see (quoth the Lady Emilia) how it is hard or vnpossible for the Courtier to come by this his ende, nor yet how the L. Octauian hath preferred him

before

before the Prince. Graunt it him not, answered the Lorde Octauian, for I haue not preferred the Courtier before the Prince. And as touching the ende of Courtlinesse, I dare vndertake that I am not ouerlene in any point. Then answered the Lord Iulian: You cannot say (my Lorde Octauian) that alwayes the cause, by the which the effect is such as it is, is no more such as the effect is. Therefore néedes must the Courtier, by whose instruction the Prince must bée of such an excellencie, bée more excellent than the Prince: and in this wise shall he be also of a more worthinesse than the Prince himselfe, which is most vnfitting. Then concerning the ende of Courtlinesse, that which you haue spoken may followe when there is litle betweene the age of the Prince and the Courtiers, yet very hardly: for where there is small difference of age, it is likely there is also small difference of knowledge. But in case the Prince be old, and the Courtier young, it is méete that the olde Prince knowe more than the young Courtier; and where this followeth not alwayes, it followeth sometime, and then is the ende which you haue appointed to the Courtier impossible. In case againe ỳ Prince be young, and the Courtier aged, much adoo shall the Courtier haue to winne him the good will of the Prince with those qualities that you haue giuen him. For (to say the truth) feates of armes, and the other exercises, belong to young men, and bée not comely in age: and musicke, dauncing, feastings, sportings, and loue, be matters to be laughed at in olde men, and (mée thinke) to the instructer of the life and manners of a Prince, who ought to bée a graue person, and of authoritie, ripe in yeares and experience, and if it were possible, a good Philosopher, a good Captaine, and to haue the knowledge almost of euery thing, they are most vnséemely. Wherefore, he that instructeth a Prince (I beléeue) ought not to bée called a Courtier, but deserueth a farre greater, and a more honorable name. Therfore (my L. Octauian) pardō me in case I haue opened this your craftie cōueiance, which I thinke my selfe bounde to doo, for the honour of my woman, whom you would haue to be of lesse worthinesse, than this Courtier of yours, and I wil none of that. The L. Octauiā laughed, and said: A more praise it were for the gentlewomā of the Pallace (my

Lord

Lord Iulian) to exault her so much that she may be equall with the Courtier, than so much to debase the Courtier, that he should be equall with the Gentlewoman of the Pallace: for it were not vnfit for the woman also to instruct her Lady, and with her to draw to the same ende of Courtlinesse, which I haue saide is meete for the Courtier with his Prince. But you seeke more to dispraise the Courtier, than to praise the Gentlewoman of the Pallace: therefore shall it become me also to take part with the Courtier. Now to make you answere to your obiections, you shall vnderstand that I haue not saide, that the instruction of the Courtier ought to bee the onely cause why the Prince should be such a one; for in case hee be not enclined of nature, and apt to be such a one, all diligence and exhortation of the Courtier were in vaine. As in like manner euery good Husbandman should labour in vaine, that would take in hande to till and sowe with good graine the barren sande of the Sea, because this barrennesse in that place is naturall. But when to the good seede in a fruitfull soyle, with the temperatenesse of ayre, and raine meete for the season of the yeare, there is also applyed the diligence of mans husbanding the grounde, alwayes greate aboundance of corne is seene to spring plentifully: yet for all this, is it not to bee saide that the Husbandman alone is the cause of it, although without him all the other thinges do little or nothing helpe the purpose. There bee therefore many Princes that woulde bee good, in case their mindes were well tilled, and of them speake I, not of such as bee like the barraine Countrey, and of nature so farre wide from good conditions, that no teaching were able to frame their minde to a right trade. And for so much as (as wee haue alreadie saide) such customes and properties bee engendred in vs, as our doings are, and vertue consisteth in doing and practise, it is not vnpossible, nor any maruell, that the Courtier should traine his Prince in many vertues, as iustice, liberalitie, noble courage, the practising whereof hee through his greatnesse, may lightly put in vre, and make it custome, which the Courtier cannot do, because he hath no meanes to practise them. And thus the Prince inclined to vertue by the Courtier, may become more vertuous than the Courtier: beside that,

This ende of the Courtier serueth also for a gentlewoman with her Lady.

Virtus in actione.

that, you muste conceiue that the whetstone which cutteth not a whit, doth yet make a tole sharpe: therefore although the Courtier instructeth his Prince, yet (mée thinke) it is not to be saide that hee is of a more worthinesse than his Prince. That the ende of this Courtier is harde, and sometime vnpossible, and that when the Courtier doth come by it, hée ought not to be named a Courtier, but deserueth a greater name, I tell you plainely, that I denie not this hardnesse, because it is no lesse harde to finde out so excellent a Courtier, than to come by suche an ende. Yet by reason (mée thinke) the vnpossiblenesse of the matter lyeth not in the pointe that you haue alledged. For in case the Courtier bee so young that hee hath not vnderstanding in the thing which he ought to haue a greate knowledge in, it is not to the purpose to speake of him, because hée is not the Courtier that wée entreate vpon, neither is it possible for him that muste haue a sight in so many thinges, to bée very young. And if it happen moreouer the prince to be so wise and good of himselfe, that he néedeth no exhortations or counsell of others, (although it be so harde a matter as euery man knoweth) it sufficeth that the Courtier bée such a one, as if his Prince had nede, he could make him vertuous: and then may he in effect fulfill the other parte, not to suffer him to be deceiued, and to worke that euermore hee may vnderstand the truth of euery thing, and beautifie him against flatterers and raylers, and all such as should endeuour to corrupt his minde with vnhonest delights. And in this wise shall hée yet come by a parte of his ende, though hee cannot practise the whole, which cannot be iustly laide to him for a fault, since hee refraineth the doing of it vpon so good a ground. For were an excellent phisition in place where al were sound and in health, a man ought not therefore to saye, that the Phisition (although hee cured no diseased) wanted of his ende. Wherefore as the Phisitions respect ought to be the health of men, euen so the Courtiers, the vertue of his Prince: and it sufficeth them both to haue this ende inwardly graft in them, when the want of vttering it outwardely in practise, is accustomed by the subiect, to the which his ende is directed. But in case the Courtier were so olde, that it became

The ende of the Courtier hard.

The Courtiers respect, the vertue of his Prince.

Olde Courtiers.

became him not to be doing in musicke, feastinges, sportinges, martiall feates, and the other slightes of the bodye, yet can it not bée saide notwithstanding, that it were impossible for him to enter that way in fauour with his Prince: for where his age taketh away the practising of these things, it taketh not away the vnderstanding of them, and if hée haue practised them in his youth, it maketh him to haue so much the more perfect iudgement in them, and gineth a knowledge to teach them his Prince so much the more perfectly, as yeares and experience bring knowledge of all things with them. And thus shall the aged Courtier, although hée exercise not the qualities that hée is endowed withall, come by his ende at length, to instruct well his Prince. And in case you will not call him a Courtier, it shall nothing offend mée, for nature hath not appointed such narrowe boundes to the dignities of men, that one may not come vp from one to an other: therefore many times meane souldiers arise to bée Captaines: priuate men, Kings: Priests, Popes: and Scholiers, Maisters: and so with their degrée or dignitie, they take their name accordingly. Wherefore perhappes a man may say, that to become the instructer of a Prince, were the ende of a Courtier, although I perceiue not who should refuse this name of a perfect Courtier, which (in my minde) is worthy very great praise. And I cannot sée but Homer, as he fashioned two most excellent personages for example of mans life, the one in practises, which was Achilles, the other in passions and sufferances, which was Vlysses: euē so in like maner he minded to fashiō a perfect Courtier, which was Phœnix, who after rehearsall of his loues and many other matters of youth, declareth that he was sent to Achilles by his father Peleus, to be in his company, and to teach him to speake and to do: which is nothing else but the ende that we haue appointed for our Courtier. Neither can I thinke that Aristotle and Plato tooke scorne of the name of a perfect Courtier, because it is plainly to be séene that they practised the deedes of Courtiership, and gaue themselues to this ende, the one with the great Alexander, the other with the Kings of Sicilia. And because it is the office of a good Courtier to know the nature and inclination of his Prince,

Instructer of a Prince.

Achilles.

Vlisses.

Phœnix.

Aristotle and Plato were Courtiers.

Both the Dionyses.

The office of a good Courtier

and

and so according to the businesse, and as occasion serueth, with slightnesse to enter into fauour with him (as we haue said) by those wayes that make him a sure entrie, and afterwarde bende him to vertue. Aristotle so well knew the nature of Alexander, and with slightnes framed himself so wel therafter, that he was beloued and honored of him more than a father. Wherfore among many other tokens that Alexãder shewed him for a witnes of his good wil, hée caused Stagira ỹ citie where he was born, once destroied, to be builded new again. And Aristotle, beside the directing him to that glorious ende, that was to make the world onely a generall countrey, and al men, as one people, that should liue in amitie and agreement together, vnder one gouernment and one lawe, that like the sunne, should generally giue light to all, hée instructed him in the naturall sciences, and in the vertues of the minde full and wholly, that hée made him most wise, most manly, most continent, and a true morall Philosopher, not in words onely, but in dedes. For there cannot bee imagined a more noble Philosophie, than to bring to a ciuill trade of liuing such wilde people as were the inhabitants of Bactria and Caucasus, India and Scythia, and to teach them matrimonie, husbandrie, to honour their fathers, to abstaine from robbing and killing, and from other naughtie conditions, and to build so many most noble Cities in straunge Countries, so that infinite through those lawes were brought from a wilde life to liue like men. And of these things in Alexander, the author was Aristotle, in practising the wayes of a good Courtier: the which Calisthenes could not do, for all Aristotle shewed him the way of it, who because he was a right Philosopher, and so sharpe a minister of the bare truth, without mingling it with Courtlinesse, he lost his life, and profited not, but rather gaue a slaunder to Alexander. With the very same way of Courtlinesse Plato framed Dion the Syracusan. But when hée met afterwarde with Dionysius the tyrant, like a booke all full of faultes and errors, and rather needefull to be cleane blotted out, than altred or corrected, because it was not possible to scrape out of him that blot of tyrannie wherewithall hé was stained so long togither, hé would not practise therein the wayes of Courtiership, for hée thought they would bée all in vaine:

Aristotle waied the nature of Alexander.

Stagira destroied by Phillip Alexanders father.

He rebuked Alexander for being worshipped as a God, and therefore died vpon the racke. Q. Curt. lib. 8.

The Courtier ought not to serue the wicked.

vaine: The which our Courtier ought to do also, if his chaunce bee to serue a Prince of so ill a nature, that by long custome is growne in vse with vices, as they that haue the consumption of the lungs with their disease. For in this case hee ought to forsake his seruice, least he beare the blame of his ill Lordes ill practises, or feele the hart-griefe that all good men haue which serue the wicked. Heere when the Lord Octauian had made a stay, the Lord Gaspar said: I had not thought our Courtier had beene so worthy a personage. But since Aristotle and Plato be his mates, I iudge no man ought to disdaine this name any more. Yet wot I not whether I may beleeue that Aristotle and Plato euer daunced, or were Musitions in all their life time, or practised other feates of chinalry.

The Lorde Octauian answered: Almoste it is not lawfull to thinke that these two diuine wittes were not skilfull in euery thing, and therefore it is to be presupposed, that they practised what euer belonged to Courtlinesse. For where it commeth to purpose, they so penne the matter, that the very crafts-Maisters themselues knowe by their writinges, that they vnderstoode the whole euen to the pith and innermoste rotes. Wherefore to a Courtier or instructer of a Prince (how euer ye lust to terme him) that tendeth to the good ende, which we haue spoken of, it is not to bee saide, but that all the good qualities which these Lordes haue giuen him, doe belong, though hee were neuer so graue a Philosopher or holy in his manners: Because they striue not against goodnesse, discretion, knowledge and will, in all age, and in all time and place. Then the Lord Gaspar, I remember (quoth hee) that these Lordes yesternight reasoning of the Courtiers qualities, diddo allowe him to to bee a Louer, and in making rehearsall of as much as hitherto hath beene spoken, a man may picke out a conclusion, That the Courtier (which with his worthinesse and credite must incline his Prince to vertue) must in maner of necessitie be aged, for knowledge commeth very seldome times before yeares, and especially with matters that bee learned with experience: I cannot see, when he is well drawne in yeares, how it will stande well with him to bee a louer, considering (as it hath beene sayde the other night) Loue frameth not with old men, and

The Courtier a louer.

the

the trickes that in young men bée gallantnesse, curtesie and pre-cisenesse so acceptable to women, in them are méere follies, and sondnesse to be laughed at, and purchase him that vseth them hatred of women, and mockes of others. Therefore in case this your Aristotle an olde Courtier were a louer, and practised the feats that yong louers do, as some that we haue séene in our daies, I feare me, he would forget to teach his Prince: and peraduenture boyes would mock him behind his backe, and women would haue none other delight in him, but to make him a iesting stocke. Then said the L. Octauian: Since all the other qualities appointed to the Courtier are méete for him, although hée be olde, mée thinke wée should not then barre him from his happinesse to loue. Nay rather, quoth the Lorde Gaspar, to take this loue from him, is a perfection ouer and aboue, and a making him to liue happily out of miserie and wretchednesse. M. Peter Bembo saide: Remember you not (my Lord Gaspar) that the L. Octauian declared the ther night in his deuise of pastimes, although hée be not skilfull in loue, to knowe yet that there be some louers, which recken the disdaines, the angers, the debates and torments which they receiue of their Ladies, swéete? Wherevpon hée required to bée taught the cause of this swéetenesse. Therefore in case our Courtier (though hée be olde) were kindled with those loues that bée swéete without any bitter smacke, hee should séele no miserie nor wretchednesse at all. And being wise, as we sette case he is, he should not be deceiued in thinking to be méete for him whatsoeuer were méete for young men, but in louing should perhaps loue after a sorte, that might not onely bring him in slaunder, but too much praise and great happinesse, without any loathsomnes at all, the which very seldome, or (in a manner) neuer happeneth to young men: and so should hée neither lay aside the teaching of his Prince, nor yet commit any thing that should deserue the mocking of boyes. Then spake the Dutchesse: I am glad (M. Peter) that you haue not bene much troubled in our reasonings this night, for now we may be the bolder to giue you in charge to speake, and to teach the Courtier this so happie a loue, which bringeth with it neither slaunder, nor any inconueniencie: for

perhappes

perhappes it shall bée one of the necessariest and profitablest qualities that hitherto hath bene giuen him, therefore speake of good fellowship as much as you knowe therein. M. Peter laughed and saide: I would bée loath (Madam) where I say it is lawfull for olde men to loue, it should bée an occasion for these Ladies to thinke mée olde: therefore hardely giue you this enterprise to an other. The Dutchesse answered: You ought not to refuse to bée counted olde in knowledge, though ye be young in yeares. Therefore say on, and excuse your selfe no more. M. Peter saide: Surely (Madam) if I must entreate vpon this matter, I must first goe aske counsel of my Hermit Lauinello. The L. Emilia said then, halfe in anger: There is neuer a one in all the company so disobedient as you be (M. Peter) therefore should the Dutchesse do well to chastise you somewhat for it. M. Peter saide smiling: for loue of God (Madam) bée not angry with mée, for I will say what euer you will haue mée. Goe to, say on then, answered the L. Emilia. Then M. Peter, after a whiles silence, somewhat setling himselfe as though hée should entreate vpon a waighty matter, saide thus: My Lordes, to shewe that olde men may loue not onely without slaunder, but otherwhile more happily than young men, I must be enforced to make a litle discourse to declare what loue is, and wherin consisteth the happinesse that louers may haue. Therefore I beseech yée giue the hearing with heedefulnesse, for I hope to make you vnderstand, that it were not vnfitting for any man here to be a Louer, in case he were fiftéene or twentie yeares elder than M. Morello. And here after they had laughed a while, M. Peter procéeded. I say therefore that according as it is defined of the wise men of olde time, Loue is nothing else but a certain coueting to enioy beautie: & forsomuch as coueting lõgeth for nothing, but for things knowne, it is requisite that knowledge goe euermore before coueting, which of his owne nature willeth the good, but of himselfe is blinde, and knoweth it not. Therefore hath nature so ordained, that to euery vertue of knowledge there is annexed a vertue of longing. And because in our soule there bée three manner wayes to knowe, namely, by sense, reason, and vnderstanding: of sense there ariseth appetite or longing, which is

Old men may loue without slaunder.

What loue is.

Knowledge.

Coueting.

Sense.

common

common to vs with brute beastes: Of reason ariseth election or choyce, which is proper to man: Of vnderstanding, by the which man may be partner with Angels, ariseth will. Euen as therefore the sence knoweth not but sensible matters, and that which may be felt, so to the appetite or Coueting onely desireth the same: and euen as the vnderstanding is bent but to beholde thinges that may bee vnderstoode, so is that will onely fed with spiritual goods. Man of nature is endewed with reason, placed (as it were) in the middle betweene these two extremities, may through his choise inclining to sense, or reaching to vnderstand, come nigh to the Coueting sometime of the one, sometime of the other part. In these sortes therefore may beauty be coueted, the generall name whereof may be applyed to all thinges, either naturall or artificiall, that are framed in good proportion, and due temper, as their nature beareth. Reason. Vnderstanding. Beauty.

But speaking of the beautie that we meane, which is onely it that appeareth in bodies, and especially in the face of man, and moueth this feruent Coueting, which we call Loue, wee will terme it an influence of the heauenly bountifulnes, the which for all it stretcheth ouer all things that be created (like the light of the Sun) yet when it findeth [illegible]face well proportioned, and framed with a certaine liuely agreement of seuerall colours, and set forth with lights and shadowes, and with an orderly distance and limites of lines, thereinto it distilleth it selfe and appeareth most welfauored, and decketh out, and lightneth the subiect where it shineth with a meruellous grace and glittering (like the Sun beames that strike against beautifull plate of fine gold wrought and set with precious Iewels) so that it draweth vnto it mens eyes with pleasure, and peircing through them, imprinteth himselfe in the soule, and with an vnwonted sweetenesse, all to stirreth her and delighteth, and setting her on fire maketh her to couet him. Whereby the soule then is taken with Coueting to enioy this beautie as a good thing, in case she suffer her selfe to be guided with the iudgement of sense, she falleth into most deepe errours, and iudgeth the body in which Beautie is discerned to bee the principall cause thereof: wherevppon to enioy it, she reckoneth it necessarie to ioyne as inward-

In possessing the bodie, beautie is not enioyed.

ly as they can with that bodie, which is false: and therefore who so thinketh in possessing the bodie to enioy Beautie, hee is farre deceiued, and is moued to it, not with true knowledge by the choyce of reason, but with false opinion by the longing of sence. Whereupon the pleasure that followeth it, is also false, and of necessitie full of errours. And therefore into one of the two vices runne all those Louers that satisfie their vnhonest lustes with the women whom they loue: For either assone as they be come to the coueted ende, they not only feele a fulnesse and loathsomenesse, but also conceiue a hatred against the wight beloued, as though longing repented him of his offence, and acknowledged the deceite wrought him by the false iudgement of sence, that made him beleeue the ill to be good: or else they continue in the very same coueting and greedinesse, as though they were not indeed come to the ende which they sought for. And albeit through the blinde opinion that hath made them drunken (to their seeming) in that instant they feele a contentation, as the diseased otherwhile, that dreame they drinke of some cleare spring, yet be they not satisfied, nor leane off so. And because of possessing coueted goodnesse, there ariseth alwayes quietnesse and satisfaction in the possessours minde, in case this were the true and right ende of their coueting, when they possesse it they would be at quietnesse and throughly satisfied, which they be not: but rather deceiued through that likenesse, they forthwith returne againe to vnbrideled coueting, and with the verie same trouble whiche they felt at the first, they fall againe into the raging and most burning thirste of the thing, that they hope in vaine to possesse perfectly. These kinde of Louers therefore loue most vnluckily, for either they neuer come by their couetings, which is great vnluckinesse: or else if they do come by them, they finde they come by their hurte, and ende their miseries with other greater miseries: for bothe in the beginning and middle of this loue, there is neuer other thing felt, but afflictions, torments, griefes, pyning, trauayle, so that to be wanne, bered with continuall teares, and sighes, to line with a discontented minde, to be alwayes dumbe, or to lament, to count death, in conclusion to bee

They that loue sensually.

Properties of Louers.

most

moſt vnluckie, are the properties which (they ſay) belong to Louers. The cauſe therefore of this wretchednelle in mens mindes, is principally Senſe, which in youthfull age beareth moſt ſway, becauſe the luſtineſſe of the fleſh and of the bloud, in that ſeaſon addeth vnto him euen ſo much force, as it withdraweth from reaſon: therefore doth it eaſily traine the ſoule to followe appetite or longing, for when ſhée ſeeth her ſelfe drowned in the earthly priſon, becauſe ſhe is ſette in the office to gouerne the body, ſhée cannot of her ſelfe vnderſtande plainelye at the firſt the truth of ſpirituall beholding. Wherefore to compaſſe the vnderſtanding of things, ſhée muſt goe begge the beginning at the ſences, and therefore ſhée beléeueth them, and giueth care to them, and is contented to be lead by them, eſpecially when they haue ſo much courage, that (in a maner) they enforce her, ſ because they be deceitfull, they fill her with errours and falſe opinions. Wher vpon moſt commonly it happeneth, that young men be wrapped in this ſenſuall loue, which is a very rebell againſt reaſon, and therefore they make themſelues vnworthy to enioy the fauours and benefites which loue beſtoweth vpon his true ſubiects, neither in loue fæle they any other pleaſures, then what beaſtes without reaſon do, but much more grieuous afflictiõs. Setting caſe therefore this to be ſo, which is moſt true, I ſay, that the contrary chaunceth to them of a more ripe age. For in caſe they, when the ſoule is not now ſo much wayed downe with the bodily burden, and when the naturall burning aſſwageth and drayeth to warmth, if they bée inflamed with beautie, and to it bend their coueting, guided by reaſonable choiſe, they bée not deceiued, and poſſeſſe beautie perfectly, and therefore through the poſſeſſing of it, alwayes goodneſſe enſueth to them, becauſe beautie is good, ſ conſequently the true loue of it is moſt good and holy, and euermore bringeth forth good fruites in the ſoules of them, that with the bridle of reaſon reſtraine the ill diſpoſition of ſenſe, the which old men can much ſooner do than young. It is not therefore out of reaſon to ſay, that olde men may alſo loue without ſlaunder, ſ more happily than yong men: taking notwithſtanding this name Olde, not for the age at the pittes brincke, nor when the caneles of the body bée ſo feble, that the ſoule cannot through Beautie.

them worke her feates, but when knowledge in vs is in his right strength. And I will not also hide this from you: namely, that I suppose, where sensuall loue in euery age is naught, yet in yong men it deserueth excuse, and perhaps in some case lawfull: for although it putteth them in afflictions, daungers, trances, and the vnfortunatenesse that is said, yet are there many that to win them the good will of their Ladies, practise vertuous thinges, which for all they be not bent to a good end, yet are they good of themselues, and so of that much bitternesse they picke out a little sweetenesse, and through the aduersities which they sustaine, in the ende they acknowledge their errour. As I iudge therefore, those yong men that bridle their appetites, and loue with reason, to bee godly: so do I hold excused such as yelde to sensuall loue, whereunto they bee so inclined through the weakenesse and frailty of man: so they shew therein meekenesse, courtesie, and prowesse, and the other worthy conditions that these Lords haue spoken of, & when those youthfull yeares be gone and past, leaue it off cleane, keeping aloofe from this sensuall coueting as from the lowermost step of the staires, by the which a man may ascend to true loue.

But in case after they draw in yeares once, they reserue still in their cold heart the fire of appetites, & bring stout reason in subiection to feeble sense, it cannot be said how much they are to be blamed: for like men without sense they deserue with an euerlasting shame to be put in the number of vnreasonable liuing creatures, because the thoughts & waies of sensuall loue be far vnfitting for ripe age. Here Bembo paused a while as though he would breath him, and whē al things were whist, M. Morello of Ortona said: and in case there were some old man more lusty and lusky and of a better complexion then many yong men, why would you not haue it lawfull for him to loue with the loue that yong men loue? The Dutchesse laughed and said: if the loue of yong men be so vnlucky, why would you (M. Morello) that old men should also loue with this vnluckinesse.

But in case you were old (as these men say you be) you would not thus procure the hurt of old men. M. Morello answered: The hurt of old men (me seemeth) M. Peter Bembo procureth, who will haue

them

them to loue after a sorte, that I for my parte vnderstande not: and (me thinke) the possessing of this beauty, which hee prayseth so much, without the body, is a dreame. Doe you beleeue M. Morello, quoth then Count Lewis, that beauty is alwayes so good a thing as M. Peter Bembo speaketh of? Not I in good sooth, answered M. Morello: But I remember rather that I haue seene many beautifull women of a moste ill inclination, cruell, and spightfull, and it seemeth that (in a manner) it happeneth alwayes so, for beauty maketh them proud: and pride, cruell. Count Lewis said smiling: To you perhappes they seeme cruell, because they content you not with it, that you would haue. But cause M. Peter Bembo to teach you in what sorte olde men ought to couet beauty, and what to seeke at their Ladies handes, and what to content themselues withall: and in not passing out of these boundes, ye shall see that they shall bee neither proude nor cruell: and will satisfie you with what you shall require. M. Morello seemed then somewhat out of patience, and saide: I will not know the thing that toucheth me not. But cause you to bee taught howe the young men ought to couet this beauty, that are not so freshe and lusty as olde men bee. Here Sir Fredericke to pacifie M. Morello, and to breake their talke, would not suffer Count Lewis to make answere, but interrupting him, saide: Perhappes M. Morello is not altogether out of the way in saying that beauty is not alwayes good, for the beautie of women is many times cause of infinite euils in the worlde, hatred, warre, mortalitie, and destruction, whereof the ruine of Troy may bee a good witnesse. And beautifull women for the moste parte bee either proude and cruell (as it is said) or vnchaste, but M. Morello would find no fault with that. There be also many wicked men that haue the comelinesse of a beautifull countenance, & it seemeth nature hath so shaped them, because they may bee the readier to deceiue, and that this amiable lokе were like a baite that couereth the hooke. Then M. Peter Bembo, beleeue not (quoth he) but beauty is alwayes good. Here Count Lewis, because he would returne againe to his former purpose, interrupted him and said: Since M. Morello passeth not to vnderstand that, which is so necessary for him, teach it me, and shewe me howe

olde men may come by this happineſſe of loue, for I will not care to be counted olde, ſo it may profit me. M. Peter Bembo laughed and ſaid: firſt will I take the errour out of theſe gentlemens minde: and afterward will I ſatiſfie you alſo. So beginning a freſh: My Lordes (quoth he) I wouldе not that with ſpeaking ill of beautie, which is a holy thing, any of vs as prophane and wicked ſhoulde purchaſe him the wrath of God. Therefore to giue M. Morello and Sir Friderick Warning, that they loſe not their ſight, as Steſichorus did, a paine moſt meete for whoſo diſprayſeth beauty, I ſay, that beauty commeth of God, and is like a circle, the goodneſſe whereof is the Centre. And therefore, as there can be no circle without a centre, no more can beauty be without goodneſſe. Whereupon doth very ſildome an ill ſoule dwell in a beautifull body. And therefore is the outward beautie a true ſigne of the inward goodnes, and in bodies this comelineſſe is imprinted more and leſſe (as it were) for a marke of the ſoule, whereby ſhe is outwardly knowne: as in trées, in which the beauty of the buddes giueth a teſtimony of the goodneſſe of the fruite. And the very ſame happeneth in bodies, as it is ſéene, that Palmeſters by the viſage know many times the conditions, and otherwhile the thoughts of men. And which is more, in beaſtes alſo a man may diſcerne by the face the qualitie of the courage, which in the body declareth it ſelfe as much as it can.

A notable Poet which loſt his ſight for writing againſt Helena, and recanting, had his ſight reſtored him again

Iudgement by the face.

Iudge you how plainely in the face of a Lion, a horſe, and an Eagle, a man ſhall diſcerne anger, fiercenеſſe, and ſtoutneſſe: In Lambes and Doues ſimpleneſſe and very innocencie: The craftie ſubtiltie in Foxes and Wolues, and the like (in a maner) in al other liuing creatures. The fowle therefore for the moſt parte bée alſo euill, and the beautifull good. Therefore it may be ſaide, that Beauty is a face pleaſant, merry, comely, and to be deſired for goodneſſe: and Fowleneſſe a face darke, vgleſome, vnpleaſant, and to be ſhunned for ill. And in caſe you will conſider all thinges, yee ſhal finde, that whatſoeuer is good and profitable, hath alſo euermore the comelineſſe of Beauty. Behold the ſtate of this great Engin of the world, which God created for the health and preſeruation of euery thing that was made. The heauen round beſet with ſo ma-

Beautie.
Fowleneſſe.

De Orat lib. 3.
The world.
The Heauen.

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ny heauenly lightes: And in the middle, the earth enuironed with the Elements, and vpheld with the weight of it selfe: The Sun, that compassing about giueth light to the whole, and in winter season draweth to the lowermost signe, afterward by little and little climeth againe to the other part: The Moone, that of him taketh her light, according as she draweth nigh, or goeth farther from him: And the other fiue starres, that diuersly keepe the very same course. These things among themselues haue such force by the knitting together of an order so necessarily framed, that with altering them any iot, they should be al lewsed, and the world would decay. They haue also such beauty and comelinesse, that all the wits men haue, cannot imagine a more beautifull matter. The earth. The Sunne. The Moone. The Planets.

Thinke now of the shape of man, which may be called a little world: in whome euery parcell of his body is seene to be necessarily framed by arte and not by hap, and then the fourme altogether most beautifull, so that it were a harde matter to iudge, whether the members, as the eyes, the nose, the mouth, the eares, the armes, the brest, and in like maner the other partes, giue either more profit to the countenance and the rest of the bodie, or comelinesse. The like may be said of al other liuing creatures. Behold the feathers of fowles, the leaues and boughes of trées, which be giuen them of nature to keepe them in their being, and yet haue they withal a very great sightlinesse. Leaue nature, and come to art. What thing is so necessary in sayling vessels, as the forepart, the sides, the mainyardes, the masse, the sayles, the sterne, oares, ankers, and tacklings? all these things notwithstanding are so wel fauoured in the eye, that vnto who so beholdeth them, they seeme to haue bene founde out as wel for pleasure, as for profite. Pillers and great beames vpholde highe buildings and Palaces, and yet are they no lesse pleasurefull vnto the eyes of the beholders, than profitable to the buildinges. When men beganne firste to builde, in the middle of Temples and houses, they reared the ridge of the rowfe, not to make the workes to haue a better shewe, but because the water might the more commodiously auoyde on bothe sides: yet vnto profit there was forthwith adioyned a faire sightlinesse, Man. Aristotle. 8. Phisi. Fowles. Trees. Shippes. Buildings. The roofe of houses.

so that if vnder the skie where there falleth neither haile nor raine a man should build a Temple, without a vaulted ridge, it is to bee thought, that it could haue neither a sightly shew nor any beauty. Beside other things therefore it giueth a great praise to the world, in saying that it is beautifull. It is praysed, in saying, the beautiful Heauen, beautifull earth, beautifull sea, beautifull riuers, beautifull woodes, trees, gardens, beautifull Cities, beautifull Churches, houses, armies. In conclusion this comely and holy beauty is a wonderous setting out of euery thing.

And it may be sayde, that Good and beautiful bee after a sorte one selfe thing, especially in the bodies of men: of the beautie wherof the nighest cause (I suppose) is the beauty of the soule: the which is a partner of the right and heauenly beauty, maketh sightly and beautifull what euer shee toucheth, and most of all, if the body, where she dwelleth, be not of so vile a matter, that shee cannot imprint in it her propertie. Therefore Beauty is the true monument and spoyle of the victorie of the soule, when shee with heauenly influence beareth rule ouer martiall and grosse nature, and with her light ouercommeth the darkenes of the body. It is not then to bee spoken that Beautie maketh women proude or cruell, although it seeme so to M. Morello.

Neither yet ought beautifull women to beare the blame of that hatred, mortalitie, and destruction, which the vnbridled appetites of men are the cause of. I will not nowe deny, but it is possible also to finde in the worlde beautifull women vnchaste, yet not because beauty inclineth them to vnchaste liuing, for it rather plucketh them from it, and leadeth them into the way of vertuous conditions, through the affinitie that beauty hath with goodnesse: But other while ill bringing vp, the continuall prouocations of louers, tokens, powertie, hope, deceites, feare, and a thousande othr matters ouercome the stedfastnesse, yea of beautifull and good women: And for these and like causes may also beautifull men become wicked. Then said the Lord Cæsar: In case the Lorde Gaspars saying bee true of yesternight, there is no doubt, but the faire women bee more chaste then the fowle. And what was my saying, quoth the L. Gasper? The L. Cæsar answe-

red:

red: If I do well beare in minde, your saying was, that The women that are sued too, alwayes refuse to satisfie him that sueth to them, but those that are not sued too, sue to others. There is no doubt but the beautifull women haue alwayes more suters, and be more instantly laide at in loue, than the foule. Therefore the beautifull alwayes denie, and consequently bee more chaste than the foule, which not being sued to, sue vnto others. Maister Peter Bembo laughed, and saide: This argument cannot be answered to. Afterward he proceeded: It chaunceth also oftentimes, that as the other sences, so the sight is deceiued, and iudgeth a face beautifull, which indeede is not beautifull. And because in the eyes, and in the whole countenance of some women, a man beholdeth otherwhile a certaine lauish wantonnesse painted with dishonest flickerings, many whome that manner delighteth because it promiseth them an easinesse to come by the thing that they couet, call it beautie: but indeede it is a cloaked vnshamefastnesse, vnworthy of so honourable and holy a name. M. Peter Bembo held his peace, and those Lordes were still earnest vpon him to speake somewhat more of this loue, & of the way to enioy beautie aright, and at the last. We think (quoth he) I haue shewed plainly inough, that olde men may loue more happily than young, which was my drift, therefore it belõgeth not to me to enter any farther. Count Lewis answered: You haue better declared the vnluckinesse of young men, than the happinesse of olde men, whom you haue not as yet taught what way they must followe in this loue of theyrs: onely you haue saide, that they must suffer themselues to bee guided by reason, and the opinion of many is, that it is vnpossible for loue to stand with reason. Bembo notwithstanding sought to make an ende of reasoning but the Dutchesse desired him to say on, and he began thus afresh. Woe vnluckie were the nature of man, if our soule (in the which this so feruent coueting may lightly arise) shoulde bee driuen to nourish it with that onely, which is common to her with beastes, and coulde not turne it to the other noble parte, which is proper to her. Therefore since it is so your pleasure, I will not refuse to reason vpon this noble matter. And because I know my selfe vnworthy to talke of the

Sense.

Reason.

most

moſt holy myſteries of loue, I beſeech him to leade my thought, and my tongue ſo, that I may ſhewe this excellent Courtier how to loue contrary to the wonted manner of the common ignorant ſort. And euen as from my childehode I haue dedicated all my whole life vnto him, ſo alſo now that my wordes may bee anſwerable to the ſame intent, and to the praiſe of him, I ſay therefore, that ſince the nature of man in youthfull age is ſo much enclined to ſenſe, it may be graunted the Courtier, while he is young, to loue ſenſually. But in caſe afterward alſo in his riper yeares, he chaunce to be ſet on fire with this courting of loue, hee ought to bee good, and circumſpect, and heedefull, that beguile not himſelfe, to bee ledde wilfully into the wretchednes, that in young men deſerueth more to be pitied than blamed: And contrariwiſe, in olde men more to be blamed than pitied. Therefore when an amiable countenance of a beautifull woman commeth in his ſight, that is accompanied with noble conditions and honeſt behauiours, ſo that as one practiſed in loue, hee weteth well that his hewe hath an agrément with hers, as ſone as he is aware that his eies snatch that Image and carrie it to the heart, and that the ſoule beginneth to beholde it with pleaſure, and feeleth within her ſelfe the influence that ſtirreth her, and by little and little ſetteth her in heate, and that thoſe liuely ſpirits, that twinckle out through the eyes, put continually freſh nouriſhment to the fire: hee ought in this beginning to ſeeke a ſpedie remedie, and to raiſe vp reaſon, and with her to fence the fortreſſe of his heart, and to ſhut in ſuch wiſe the paſſages againſt ſenſe and appetites, that they may enter neither with force nor ſubtill practiſe. Thus if the flame be quenched, the icopardie is alſo quenched. But in caſe it continue or encreaſe, then muſt the Courtier determine (which hee perceiueth he is taken) to ſhunne throughly all filthineſſe of common loue, and ſo enter into the holy way of loue, with the guide of reaſon, and firſt conſider that the body, where that beautie ſhineth, is not the fountaine from whence beautie ſpringeth: but rather becauſe beautie is bodileſſe, and (as wee haue ſaide) an heauenly ſhining beame, ſhee loſeth much of her honour when ſhee is coupled with that vile ſubiect and full of corruption, becauſe the leſſe ſhee is

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partner thereof, the more perfect she is, and cleane sundred from it, is most perfect. And as a man heareth not with his mouth, nor smelleth with his eares: no more can he also in any manner wise enioy beautie, nor satisfie the desire that she stirreth vppe in our mindes, with feeling, but with sence, vnto whome beautie is the very Butte to leuell at: namely, the vertue of seeing. Let him lay aside therefore the blinde iudgement of the sense, and enioy with his eyes the brightnesse, the comelynesse, the louing sparkles, laughters, gestures, and all the other pleasant furnitures of beautie: especiallye with hearing the sweetenesse of her voice, the tunablenesse of her wordes, the melodie of her singing and playing on instruments, (in case the woman beloued bee a Musition) and so shall hee with most daintie sorte feede the soule through the meanes of these two senses, which haue litle bodily substance in them, and be the ministers of reason, without entring farther toward the body, with coueting vnto any longing otherwise than honest.

Beautie sensered from the body, is most perfect.

Afterwarde lette him obey, please, and honour with all reuerence his woman, and recken her more deare to him than his owne life, and preferre all her commodities and pleasures before his owne, and loue no lesse in her the beautie of the minde, than of the body: Therefore let him haue a care not to suffer her to run into any errour, but with lessons and good exhortations take alwayes to frame her to modestie, to temperance, to true honestie, and so to worke, that there may neuer take place in her other than pure thoughtes, and farre wide from all filthinesse of vices. And thus in sowing of vertue in the garden of that minde, hee shal also gather the fruites of most beautiful conditions, and sauour thē with a marueilous good relish. And this shalbe the right engendring and imprinting of beautie in beautie, the which some hold opinion to be the ende of loue. In this maner shall our Courtier be most acceptable to his Lady, and shee wil alwaies shewe her selfe towarde him tractable, lowely and sweete in language, and as willing to please him, as to be beloued of him: and the wils of them both shalbe most honest and agreeable, and they consequently shalbe most happie. Here M. Morello said.

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The engendring (quoth he) of beautie in beautie aright, were the engendring of a beautifull childe in a beautifull woman, & I would thinke it a more manifest token a great deale, that shee loued her louer, if shee pleased him with this, than with the swetenesse of language that you speake of. M. Peter Bembo laughed, and saide: You must not (Master Morello) passe your boundes. I may tell you, it is not a small token that a woman loueth, when she giueth vnto her louer her beautie, which is so precious a matter: & by the wayes that be a passage to the soule; that is to say, the sight and the hearing sendeth the lookes of her eies, ỹ Image of her countenance, and ỹ voice of her words, that pierce into the louers heart, & giue a witnesse of her loue. M. Morello said: Looke & wordes may be, and oftentimes are false witnesses. Therefore who so hath not a better pledge of loue (in my iudgement) he is an ill assurance. And surely I loked still that you would haue made this woman of yours somewhat more curteous and frée toward the Courtier, than my L. Iuliã hath made his: but (me seemeth) ye be both of the propertie of those Iudges, that (to appeare wise) giue sentence against their owne. Bembo said: I am well pleased to haue this woman much more curteous toward my Courtier not young, than the L. Iulian is to the young: and that with good reason, because mine coueteth but honest matters, and therefore may the woman grant him them all without blame. But my L. Iulians woman that is not so allured of the modestie of the young man, ought to graunt him the honest matters onely, and denie him the dishonest. Therefore more happie is mine, that hath granted him whatsoeuer he requireth, thã the other, that hath part granted, and part denied. And because you may moreouer the better vnderstand, that reasonable loue is more happy than sensuall, I say vnto you, that selfe same things in sensuall ought to be denied otherwhile, and in reasonable granted: because in the one they be honest, and in the other dishonest. Therefore the woman to please her good louer, beside the graunting him merrie countenances, familiar and secret talke, feasting, dallying, hand in hand, may also lawfully and without blame come to kissing: which in sensuall loue according to the L. Iulians rules, is not lawfull. For since a kisse is a knitting together both of body & soule,

A kisse.

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it is to be feared, least the sensuall Louer will be more enclined to the part of the body, than of the soule: but the reasonable louer wotteth well, that although the mouth be a parcell of the body, yet is it an issue for the wordes, that be the interpreters of the soule, and for the inward breath, which is also called the soule: and therefore hath a delight to ioyne his mouth with the womãs beloued with a kisse: not to stirre him to any vnhonest desire, but because he feeleth that that bonde is the opening of an entrie to the soules, which drawne with a coueting the one of the other, powre themselues by turne the one into the others body, and be so mingled together, that each of them hath two soules, and one alone so framed of them both, ruleth (in a manner) two bodies. Whereupon a kisse may be said to be rather a coupling togither of the soule, thã of the body, because it hath such force in her, that it draweth her vnto it, and (as it were) seperateth her from the body. For this do all chaste louers couet a kisse, as a coupling of soules togither. And therefore Plato the diuine louer saith, that in kissing his soule came as farre as his lips, to depart out of the body. And because the seperating of the soule from the matters of the sense, and the through coupling her with matters of vnderstanding, may be betokened by a kisse, Salomõ saith in his heauenly booke of Balates: Oh that he would kisse me with a kisse of his mouth, to expresse the desire he had, that his soule might be rauished through heauenly loue, to the beholding of heauenly beautie in such maner, that coupling her selfe inwardly with it, she might forsake the body. They stode all harkening hedefully to Bembos reasoning, and after he had stayed a while, and sawe that none spake, he saide: Since you haue made mee to beginne to shewe our not young Courtier this happie loue, I will leade him yet somewhat farther forwardes, because to stand still at this stay, were somewhat perillous for him, considering (as we haue oftentimes saide) the soule is most enclined to the senses, and for all reason with discourse chooseth well, and knoweth that beautie not to spring of the body, and therefore setteth a bridle to the vnhonest desires, yet to beholde it alwayes in that body, doth oftentimes corrupt the right iudgement. And where no other inconuenience insueth vpon it, once absence from the wight beloued

carrieth

carrieth a great passion with it: because the influence of that beautie when it is present, giueth a wonderous delight to the louer, and setting his heart on fire, quickneth and melteth certaine vertues in a traunce and congealed in the soule, the which nourished with the heate of loue, flowe about, and gos bubbling nigh the heart, and thrust out through the eyes those spirits, which be most fine vapours, made of the purest and clearest part of the bloud, which receiue the Image of beautie, and decke it with a thousand sundrie furnitures. Whereupon the soule taketh a delight, and with a certaine number is agast, & yet enioyeth she it, and (as it were) astonied together with the pleasure, feeleth the feare and reuerence that men accustomably haue towarde holy matters, and thinketh her selfe to be in Paradise.

The Louer therefore that considereth onely the beautie in the body, loseth his treasure and happinesse, as soone as the woman beloued with her departure leaueth the eyes without their brightnesse, and consequently the soule as a widowe without her ioy. For since beautie is farre off, that influence of loue setteth not the heart on fire, as it did in presence. Whereupon the poares bedryed vp and withered, and yet doth the remembrance of beautie somewhat stirre those vertues of the soule in such wise, that they seeke to scatter abroade the Spirites, and they finding the wayes closed vp, haue no issue, and still they seeke to get out, and so with those shootings inclosed, pricke the soule, and torment her bitterly, as young children, when in their tender gummes they begynne to breede teeth. And hence come the teares, sighes, vexations, and torments of Louers: Because the soule is alwayes in affliction and trauell, and (in a manner) waxeth wood, vntill the beloued beautie commeth before her once againe, and then is she immediately pacified, and taketh breath, and throughly bent to it, is nourished with most daintie foode, and by her will, would neuer depart from so sweete a sight. To auoyd therefore the torment of this absence, and to enioy beautie without passion, the Courtier by the helpe of reason must full and wholly call backe againe the roueting of the body and beautie alone, and (in what he can) beholde it in it selfe simple and pure, and frame it within in his

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imagination ſundred from all matter, and ſo make it friendly and louing to his ſoule, and there enioy it, and haue it with him day and night, in euery time and place, without miſtruſt euer to loſe it: keping alwayes faſt in minde, that the body is a moſt diuerſe thing from beautie, and not onely not encreaſeth, but diminiſheth the perfection of it.

In this wiſe ſhall our not young Courtier be out of all bitternelle and wretchednelle that young men feele (in a maner) continually, as iealouſies, ſuſpitiõs, diſdaines, angers, deſperations, and certaine rages full of madneſſe, wherby many times they be led into ſo great errour, that ſome do not onely beate the women whom they loue, but ridde theſelues out of their life. He ſhall do no wrong to the huſband, father, brethren, or himſelfe of the womã beloued. He ſhal not bring her in ſlaunder. He ſhal not be in caſe with much adoo otherwhile to refraine his eyes and tongue from diſcouering his deſires to others. He ſhall not take thought at departure or in abſence, becauſe he ſhall euermore carrie his precious treaſure about with him, ſhutte faſt within his heart. And beſide, thorough the vertue of imagination, he ſhall faſhion within himſelfe that beautie much more faire than it is indeede. But among theſe commodities, the lower ſhall finde an other yet far greater, in caſe he will take this loue for a ſtayre (as it were) to clime vp to an other farre higher than it. The which he ſhall bring to paſſe, if he will go and conſider with himſelf, what a ſtraight bonde it is to be alwayes in the trouble to beholde the beautie of one body alone. And therefore to come out of this ſo narrow a rome, he ſhall gather in his thought by litle and litle ſo many ornaments, that medling all beauties together, he ſhall make an vniuerſall conceit, and bring the multitude of them to the vnitie of one alone, that is generally ſpread ouer all the nature of man. And thus ſhall he behold no more the particular beautie of one woman, but an vniuerſall, that decketh out all bodies. Whereupon being made dimme with his greater light, he ſhal not paſſe vpõ the leſſer, and burning in a more excellent flame, he ſhall litle eſteeme it, that he ſet great ſtore by at the firſt. This ſtaire of loue, though it be very noble, and ſuch as few arriue at it, yet is it not in this ſort to be called perfect,

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for so much as where the imagination is of force to make conueyance, and hath no knowledge, but through those beginnings that the senses helpe her withall, shee is not cleane purged from grosse darkenesse: and therefore though shee do consider that vniuersall beautie in somder, and in it selfe alone, yet doth shee not well and clearely discerne it, nor without some doubtfulnesse, by reason of the agreement that the phansies haue with the body. Wherefore such as come to this loue, are like young birdes almost flush, which for all they flutter a little their tender wings, yet dare they not stray far from the neast, nor commit themselues to the winde and open weather.

When our Courtier therefore shall be come to this point, although he may be called a good and happie louer, in respect of them that be drowned in the miserie of sensuall loue, yet will I not haue him to set his heart at rest, but boldly proceede further, following the high way after his guide, that leadeth him to the point of true happinesse. And thus in stead of going out of his wit with thought, as he must do that will consider the bodily beautie, hee may come into his wit, to beholde the beautie that is seene with the eies of the minde, which then begin to be sharpe and thorough seeing, when the eyes of the body lose the flowre of their sightlinesse. Therefore the soule ridde of vices, purged with the studies of true philosophy, occupied in spirituall, and exercised in matters of vnderstanding, turning her to the beholding of her owne substance, as it were raised out of a most deepe sleepe, openeth the eyes that all men haue, and fewe occupie, and seeth in her selfe a shining beame of that light, which is the true Image of the Angelike beautie partened with her, wherof we also partneth with the body a feeble shaddow: therefore waxed blinde about earthly matters, is made most quicke of sight about heauenly. And otherwhile when the flitting vertues of the body are withdrawen alone through earnest beholding, eyther fall bound through sleepe, when shee is not hindered by them, shee feeleth a certaine priuie smell of the right Angelike beautie, and rauished with the shining of that light, beginneth to bee inflamed, and so greedily followeth after, that (in a manner) shee waxeth drunken and beside her selfe, for coueting

to couple her selfe with it, hauing found (to her weening) the foote-steps of God, in the beholding of whome (as in her happy end) she seeketh to settle her selfe. And therefore burning in this most happy flame, she ariseth to the noblest parte of her (which is the vnderstanding) and there no more shadowed with the darke night of earthly matters, seeth the heauenly beauty: but yet doth she not for all that enioy it altogether perfectly, because she beholdeth it only in her particular vnderstanding, which cannot conceiue the passing great vniuersall beauty: whereupon not throughly satisfied with this benefit, loue giueth vnto the soule a greater happinesse. For like as through the particular beauties of one body hee guideth her to the vniuersall beautie of all bodies: Euen so in the last degree of perfection through particular vnderstanding he guideth her to the vniuersall vnderstanding.

Thus the soule kindled in the most holy fire of true heauenly loue, seeth to couple her self with the nature of Angels, and not only cleane forsaketh sense, but hath no more neede of the discourse of reason, for being changed into an Angell, shee vnderstandeth all things that may bee vnderstoode: and without any veile or cloud, she seeth the maine sea of the pure heauenly beauty and receiueth it into her, and enioyeth the soueraigne happinesse, that cannot bee comprehended of the sense. Since therefore the beauties, which we dayly see with theis our dimme eies in bodies subiect to corruption, that neuertheleſſe be nothing else but dreames and most thinne shadowes of beauty, séeme vnto vs so well fauoured and comely, that oftentimes they kindle in vs a moste burning fire, and with delight, that we reckon no happinesse may be compared to it, that wee féele otherwhile through the only loue which the beloued countenance of a woman casteth at vs: what happy wonder, what blessed abashment may we reckon that to bee, that taketh the soules, which come to haue a sight of the heauenly beauty? What swéete flame? What swéet influence may a man beléeue that to be, which ariseth of the fountaine of the soueraigne and right beautie? Which is the originall of all other beauty, which neuer encreaseth nor diminisheth, alwayes beautifull, and of it selfe, aswell on the one part as on the other, most simple, onely like it selfe, and partner of none

other, but in such wise beautifull, that all other beautiful things be beautiful, because they be partners of the beautie of it. This is the beautie vnseparable from the high bountie, which with her voyce calleth and draweth to her all things: and not onely to the indowed with vnderstanding giueth vnderstanding, to the reasonable reason, to the sensuall, sense and appetite to liue, but also partaketh with plantes and stones (as a print of her selfe) stirring, and the natural prouocation of their properties. So much therefore is this loue greater and happier than others, as the cause that stirreth it, is more excellent. And therefore, as common fire tryeth golde and maketh it fine, so this most holy fire in soules destroyeth and consumeth whatsoeuer there is mortal in them, and relieueth and maketh beautiful the heauenly part, which at the first by reason of the sense was dead and buried in them. This is the great fire in the whiche (the Poetes write) that Hercules was buried on the top of the Mountaine Oeta: and throughe that consuming with fire, after his death was holy and immortal. This is the fiery bushe of Moses: The diuided tongues of fire: The inflamed Chariot of Helias: which doubleth grace and happinesse in their soules that be worthy to see it, when they forsake this earthly baseneſſe, and flee vp vnto heauen. Let vs therefore bende all our force & thoughts of soule to this most holy light, that sheweth vs the way whiche leadeth to heauen: and after it, putting off the affections we were clad at our comming downe, let vs clime vp the staires, which at the lowermost steppe haue the shadowe of sensuall beautie, to the high mansion place where the heauenly, amiable and right beautie dwelleth, whiche lyeth hidde in the innermost secrets of God, least vnhalowed eyes should come to the sight of it: and there shall we finde a most happie ende for our desires, true rest for our trauailes, certaine remedie for miseries, a most healthful medicine for sickneſſe, a moste sure heauen in the troublesome stormes of the tempestuous sea of this life.

Heauenly beautie.

A mountaine betweene Thessalia and Macedonia, where is the Sepulchre of Hercules.

What tongue mortal is there then (O most holy loue) that can sufficiently praise thy worthinesse? Thou most beautifull, moste good, most wise, arte deriued of the vnitie of heauenly beautie, goodneſſe,

godnesse, and wisedome, and therein dost thou abide, and vnto it, through it, (as in a circle) turnest about. Thou the moste swéete bond of the worlde, a meane betwixt heauenly and earthly thinges, with a bountifull temper bendest the high vertues to the gouernment of the lower, and turning backe the mindes of mortall men to their beginning, couplest them with it. Thou with agreement bringest the Elements in one, stirrest nature to bring forth, and ý which ariseth and is borne for the succession of the life. Thou bringest seuered matters into one, to the vnperfect giuest perfectiō, to the vnlike likenesse, to enmitie amitie, to the earth fruites, to the sea calmenesse, to the heauen lively light. Thou art the father of true pleasures, of grace, peace, lowlynesse, and good will; enemie to rude wildenesse, and sluggishnesse. To bée short, the beginning and ende of all godnesse. And for so much as thou delightest to dwell in the flowre of beautifull bodies and beautifull soules, I suppose that the abiding place is now here among vs, and from aboue otherwhile shewest thy selfe a little to the eyes and mindes of them that be worthy to sée thée. Therefore vouchsafe (Lord) to harken to our prayers, powre thy selfe into our hearts, and with the brightnesse of thy moste holy fire lighten our darkenesse, and like a trustie guide in this blinde maze, shewe vs the right way: returne the fallehood of the senses, and after long wandring in vanitie, giue vs the right and sound ioy.

Make vs to smel those spiritual sauours that relieue the vertues of the vnderstanding, and to heare the heauenly harmonie so tunable, that no disorder of passion take place any more in vs. Make vs drunken with the bottomelesse fountaine of contentation that alwayes doth delight, and neuer giueth fill, and that giueth a smacke of the right blisse vnto who so drinketh of the running and cleare water thereof: Purge with the shining beames of thy lighte, our eyes from mystie ignorance, that they may sée more set by most all beauties, and well perceiue that the thinges which at the first they thought themselues to sée, bée not indéede, and those that they sawe not, to be in effect. Accept our soules, that be offered vnto thée for a sacrifice. Burne them in the liuely flame, that walleth all grosse filthinesse, that after they bée

cleane sundred from the body, they may be coupled with an euerlasting and most sweet bond to the heauenly beauty. And we seuered from our selues, may be changed like right louers into the beloued, and after we be drawne from the earth, admitted to the feast of the Angels, where fed with immortal ambrosia & nectar, in ỹ end we may die a most happy and liuely death, as in times past died the fathers of old time, whose soules with most feruent zeale of beholding, thou didst hale from the body, and coupledst them with God. While Bembo had hitherto spoken with such vehemencie, that a man would haue thought him (as it were) rauished and beside himselfe, he stood stil without once mouing, holding his eyes toward heauen as astonied: when the L. Emilia, which together with the rest gaue most diligent eare to this talke, toke him by the plaite of his garment, and plucking him a little saide: Take heede (M. Peter) that these thoughts make not your soule also to forsake the body. Madã, answered M. Peter, it should not be the first miracle that loue hath wrought in me. Then the Dutchesse & al the rest began a fresh to be instant vpon M. Bembo that he would procéede once more in his talke, and euery one thought he felt in his minde (as it were) a certaine sparkle of that godly loue that pricked him, & they all coueted to heare farther: but M. Bembo, My Lords (quoth he) I haue spokẽ what the holy fury of loue hath vnsought for) indited to me: now ỹ (it seemeth) he inspireth me no more, I wot not what to say. And I think verily ỹ loue wil not haue his secrets discouered any farther, nor that the Courtier should passe the degrée that his pleasure is I should shew him, & therefore it is not perhaps lawful to speake any more in this matter. Surely, quoth the Dutchesse, if the not young Courtier be such a one, ỹ he can followe this way which you haue shewed him, of right he ought to be satisfied with so great a happinesse, & not to enuie the yonger. The the L. Cæsar Gonzaga, ỹ way (quoth he) that leadeth to this happinesse is so steepe (in my minde) that (I beléeue) it will be much a do to get to it. The L. Gaspar saide: I beléeue it be harde to get vp for men, but impossible for women. The L. Emilia laughed & saide: If ye fall so often to offred vs, I promise you, ye shal be no more forgiuen. The Lord Gaspar answered: It is no offence to you, in saying, that womens soules bée not so purged

The Poets faine to be the meate and drinke of the Gods.

purged from passions as men be, or accustomed in behauings, as M. Peter hath said, it is necessarie for them to be, that will taste of the heauenly loue. Therefore it is not red that euer woman hath had this grace: but many men haue had it, as Plato, Socrates, Platinus and many other: and a number of our holy fathers, as Saint Francis, in whom a feruent spirit of loue imprinted the most holy seale of fiue woundes. And nothing but the vertue of loue could hale vp Saint Paul the Apostle to the sight of those secrets, which is not lawfull for man to speake of, nor shew: S. Stephen saw the heauens open. Here answered the L. L. Iulian. In this point men shall nothing passe women, for Socrates himselfe doth confesse that all the misteries of loue which he knew, were opened vnto him by a woman, which was Diotima. And the Aungell that with the fire of loue imprinted the fiue woundes in Saint Francis, hath also made some women worthy of the same print in our age. You must remember moreouer, that Saint Mary Magdalen had many faultes forgiuen her, because she loued much: and perhaps with no lesse grace then Saint Paul, was she many times through Angel-like loue haled vp to the third heauen. And many other (as I shewed you yesternight more at large) that for loue of the name of Christ haue not passed vpon life, nor feared, torments, nor any other kinde of death how terrible and cruel soeuer it were. And they were not (as M. Peter wil haue his Courtier to be) aged, but soft and tender maidens, and in the age, when he saith that sensuall loue ought to be borne withall in men. The L. Gaspar began to prepare himselfe to speake to the Dutchesse. Of this (quoth she) let M. Peter be iudge, and the matter shall stand to his verdite, Whether women be not as meet for heauenly loue as men. But because the pleade betweene you may happen be too long, it shall not be amisse to defer it vntill to morrow. Nay, to night quoth the L. Cæsar Gonzaga. And how can it be to night, quoth the Dutchesse? The L. Cæsar answered: Because it is day already, & shewed her the light that began to enter in at the clifts of the windowes.

Then euery man arose vpon his feete with much wonder, because they had not thought that the reasonings had lasted longer then the accustomed wont, saving onely that they were begun

much later, and with their pleasantnesse had deceived so the Lords mindes, that they wist not of the going away of the houres. And not one of them felt any heauinesse of sleepe in his eyes, the which often happeneth when a man is vp after his accustomed houre to go to bed. When the windowes then were opened on the side of the Palace that hath his prospect towarde the high top of Mount Catri, they saw already risen in the East a faire morning like vnto the colour of roses, and all starres voyded, sauing onely the swete Gouernesse of the heauen, Venus, which keepeth the bounds of the night and the day, from which appeared to blow a swet blast, that filling the ayre with a biting colde, began to quicken the tunable notes of the prety birds, among the bushing woodes of the hilles at hand. Whereupon they al taking their leaue with reuerence of the Dutchesse, departed toward their lodgings without torche, the light of the day suffising. And as they were now passing out at the great Chamber doore, the Lord Generall turned him to the Dutchesse, and said: Madam, to take vp the variance betweene the L. Gaspar and the Lord Iulian, we will assemble this night with the iudge sooner then we did yesterday. The Lady Emilia answered: vpon condition, that in case my L. Gaspar will accuse women and give them (as his wont is) some false reporte, he will also put vs in suretie to stand to triall, for I reckon him a waue-ring starter.

The end of Castilios bookes of the Courtier.

A LETTER THAT

the Author writ to the Ladie *Victoria Columna* Marqueſſe of *Peſcara*: whom he mentioneth in the Epiſtle before his Booke.

Moſt Honourable and my verie good Lady, I am much beholding to M. Thomas Tuke, becauſe he was the occaſion that your Ladiſhip hath vouchſafed to write vnto me, which is moſt acceptable to me, and not without cauſe, conſidering I haue written ſo many Letters, and could neuer receiue any anſwer from you again, albeit they contained ſundrie matters. Truth it is indeed, that vnleſſe it were your L. ſhould write vnto me, vnleſſe therwithal you did my ſeruice, & commanded me in what I am able to do for you. As touching M. Tuke, I wil doe as much for him, as ſhall lie in me to doe, both for your Ladiſhips ſake that may commaund me, and for the brotherly loue that I beare him.

Where M. Gutteriz hath written vnto you that I complained of you, I wonder nothing at it, for (to ſay the truth) I vttered my griefe a good while ſince in a letter that I wrote vnto you your ſelf, as I paſſed the mountaines of France to come into Spaine. And he that told me the matter that cauſed it was my L. Marques of Vaſto, who ſhewed me a letter of yours in the which your ſelfe confeſſed the ſtealth of the Courtier. The which thing I as then toke in great good part, doubting nothing but that it ſhould remain in your hands, and be well kept, vntill I my ſelfe ſhould come to demaund it of you. At the laſt, I was enformed by a gentleman Neapolitan, who continueth ſtill here in Spaine, that there were certaine fragmentes of the poore Courtier in Naples, and hee ſaw them in the handes of ſundrie men, and he that ſcattered it thus abroade, reported that hee had it of you. It was ſome griefe to me, as a father that ſeeth his child ſo ill handled: yet afterward yéelding to reaſon, I knewe hee deſerued not to haue any more ſtore

made of him, but (like an vntimely birth) to be left in the high way for the benefit of nature. And so vndoubtedly was I determined to do, considering if there were any thing in the booke not ill, men would haue the worse opinion of it, when they should see it so out of order. And no diligence should preuaile any more to polishe it, and to set it forth, since it had lost the thing, which perhappes at the first was only it, that made it esteemed: that is to wit, the nouelties of the matter. And knowing your saying to be true, that the cause of my complaint was very trifling, I resolued with my selfe, to leaue at the last my complaining, though I could not my sorrowing. And that which I brake with M. Gutteriz (in case it will be wayed) was no complaint. In conclusion others, more bent of a zeale than I was, haue enforced me to write him ouer againe, as the shortnesse of time hath serued me, and to send him to Venice to be put in Print, and so haue I done. But if your Lord should suspect that the good will whiche I beare you, were any deale fainted for this, your iudgement should deceiue you, which (I beleeue) it did neuer in all your life before: but rather I recken my selfe more bound to you, because the necessitie that drone me to make haste so speedily to imprint it, hath saued me a great peece of labor, where I was once minded to haue added many other matters, which could be but of smal moment as the rest are. And thus shall the reader haue the lesse labour, and the Authour lesse blame. Therefore it is now past time either for you or me to repent or correct. And thus I take my leaue of you.

A briefe

A briefe rehearſall of the chiefe conditions and qualities required in a Courtier.

TO be well borne, and of a good ſtocke.

To be of a meane ſtature, rather with the leaſt than to high, and well made to his proportion.

To be pretty and amiable in countenance vnto who ſo beholdeth him.

Not to be womaniſh in his ſayings or doings.

Not to praiſe himſelfe vnſhamefully and out of reaſon.

Not to crake and boaſt of his acts and good qualities.

To ſhun Affectation or curioſitie aboue all thing in all things.

To do his feats with a ſlight, as though they were rather naturally in him, than learned with ſtudy: and vſe a Recklesneſſe to cover art, without minding greatly what he hath in hande, to a mans ſeeming.

Not to carrie about tales and trifling newes.

Not to be ouerſeene in ſpeaking words otherwhile that may offend where he meant it not.

Not to be ſtubborne, wilful, nor full of contention: nor to contrary and overthwart men after a ſpitefull ſort.

Not to be a babler, brawler or chatter, nor lauiſh of his tongue.

Not to be giuen to vanitie and lightneſſe, nor to haue a phantaſticall head.

No lyar. No fond flatterer.

To be well ſpoken and faire languaged.

To be wiſe and well ſeene in diſcourſes vpon ſtates.

To haue a iudgement to frame himſelf to the maners of the countrey where euer he commeth.

To be able to alledge good probable reaſons vpon euery matter.

To be ſeene in tongues, eſpecially in Italian, French, & Spaniſh.

To direct all things to a good ende.

To procure where euer he goeth, that men may firſt conceiue a good opinion of him before he commeth there.

To fellowſhip himſelfe for the moſt part with men of the beſt ſort, and of moſt eſtimation, and with his equalles, ſo he be alſo beloued of his inferiours.

To

To play for his pastime at Dice and Cardes, not wholly for moneys sake, nor fume and chafe in his losse.

To be meanely seene in the play at Chesses, and not ouer-cunning.

To be pleasantly disposed in common matters, and in good company.

To speake and write the language that is most in vse among the common people, without inventing new words, Inckhorne termes, or straunge phrases, and such as bee growne out of vse by long time.

To be handsome and cleanly in his apparell.

To make his garments after the fashion of the most, and those to be blacke, or of some darkish and sad colour, not garish.

To get him an especiall and heartie friend to company withall.

Not to be ill tongued, especially against his betters.

Not to vse any fond fawcinesse or presumption.

To be no enuious or malicious person.

To be an honest, a faire conditioned man, and of an vpright conscience.

To haue the vertues of the minde, as iustice, manlinesse, wisdome, temperance, stayednesse, noble courage, sober mode, &c.

To be more than indifferently well seene in learning, in the Latin and Greeke tongues.

Not to be rash, nor perswade himselfe to knowe the thing that hee knoweth not.

To confesse his ignorance, when hee seeth time and place thereto, in such qualities as hee knoweth himselfe to haue no manner skill in.

To bee brought to shewe his feates and qualities at the desire and request of others, and not rashly preasse to it of himselfe.

To speake alwayes of matters likely, least hee be counted a lyer in reporting of wonders and straunge miracles.

To haue the feate of drawing and painting.

To dannce well, without ouer-nimble footings, or to bussie tricks.

To sing well vpon the booke.

To play vpon the Lute, and sing to it with the dittie.

To

To play vpon the Vyole, and all other instruments with treates.
To delight and refresh the hearers mindes in being pleasant, feate conceited, and a merrie talker, applyed to time and place.
Not to vse sluttish and ruffian like prankes with any man.
Not to become a iester or scoffer, to put any man out of countenãce.
To consider whom he doth taunt and where, for he ought not to mocke poore silly soules, nor men of authoritie, nor common rybaldes, & persons giuen to mischiefe, which deserue punishment.
To be skilfull in all kinde of martiall feates, both on horseback and on foote, and well practised in them: which is his chiefe profession, though his vnderstanding be the lesse in all other things.
To play well at fense vpon all kinde of weapons.
To be nimble and quicke at the play at Tenise.
To hunt and hawke.
To ride and manage well his horse.
To be a good horseman for euery saddle.

To swimme well.
To leape well.
To runne well.
To vaute well.
To wrastle well.
To cast ỳ stone well.
To cast the bar well.
} Seldome in open sight of the people, but priuily with himselfe alone, or among his friends and familiars.

To runne well at tilt, and at ring.
To Tourney.
To fight at Barriers.
To keepe a passage or straite.
To play at Togo di Canne.
To runne at Bull.
To sling a Speare or Dart.
} These things in open sight to delight the common people withall.

Not to run, wrastle, leape, nor cast the stone or bar with men of the Countrey, except he be sure to get the victorie.
To set himselfe in feates of chiualrie in open shewes well prouided

of

of horse and harneis, well trapped and armed, so that he may shewe himselfe nimble on horsebacke.

Neuer to be of the last that appeare in the lystes at lustes, or in open shewes.

To haue in triumphes comely armour, bases, scarfes, trappings, lyueries, and such other thinges of lightly and merry colours, and rich to beholde, with wittie posies and pleasant deuises, to allure vnto him chiefly the eyes of the people.

To disguise himselfe in maskery, either on horseback or a foote, and to take the shape vpon him that shalbe contrary to the feate that he mindeth to worke.

To vndertake his bolde feates and courageous enterprises in warre, out of company, and in the sight of the most noble personages in the campe, and (if it be possible) before his Princes eyes.

Not to hazard himselfe in forraging and spoyling, or in enterprises of great daunger and small estimation, though hee be sure to gaine by it.

Not to waite vpon or serue a wicked and naughtie person.

Not to seeke to come vp by any naughtie or subtill practise.

Not to commit any mischieuous or wicked fact at the will & commaundement of his Lord or Prince.

Not to follow his owne phansie, or alter the expresse wordes in any point of his commission from his Prince or Lord, vnlesse he bee assured that the profit will bee more, in case it haue good successe, than the dammage if it succéede ill.

To vse euermore toward his Prince or Lord, the respect that becommeth the seruant toward his maister.

To endeuour himselfe to loue, please, and obey his Prince in honestie.

Not to couet to presse into the chamber or other secret part where his Prince is withdrawne at any time.

Neuer to be sad, melancholy, or sullen before his Prince.

Seldome or neuer sue to his Lord for any thing for himselfe.

His suite to be honest and reasonable when he sueth for others.

To reason of pleasant & merrie matters when he is withdrawne with him into priuate and secret places, alwayes taking him

to

to vnderſt and the truth without diſſimulation or flatterie.

Not to loue promotions ſo, that a man ſhould think he could not liue without them, nor vnſhamefaſtly to beg any office.

To refuſe them after ſuch a comely ſort, that the Prince offering him them, may haue a cauſe to offer them with a more inſtance.

Not to preſſe to his Prince where euer he be, to holde him with a vaine tale, that others ſhould thinke him in fauour with him.

To conſider well what it is that he doth or ſpeaketh, where, in preſence of whom, what time, why, his age, his profeſſion, the end, and the meanes.

The finall ende of a Courtier, whereto all his good conditions and honeſt qualities do tend, is to become An Inſtructer and teacher of his Prince or Lord, enclining him to vertuous practiſes: And to be franke and free with him after he is once in fauour in matters touching his honour and eſtimation, alwaies putting him in minde to follow vertue, and to flee vice, opening vnto him the commodities of the one, and inconueniences of the other: And to ſhut his eares againſt flatterers, which are the firſt beginning of ſelfe-liking, and all ignorance.

His conuerſatiō with women to be alwaies gentle, ſober, meeke, lowely, modeſt, ſeruiceable, comely, merrie, not biting or ſlaunderring, with ieaſts, nippes, ſtrumpes, raylings, the honeſties of any.

His loue toward women, not to be ſenſuall or fleſhly, but honeſt, and godly, and more ruled with reaſon, than appetite: and to loue better the beautie of the minde, than of the body.

Not to withdraw his maiſtreſſe good will from his fellow louer with reuiling or rayling at him, but with vertuous deedes, and honeſt conditions, and with deſeruing more than he at her hands, for honeſt affections ſake.

Of

Of the chiefe conditions and qualities in a waiting Gentlewoman.

TO be well borne, and of a good house.
To flie affection or curiositie.
To haue a good grace in all her doings.
To be of good conditiõs, and well brought vp.
To be wittie and foreseeing, not headie and of a running wit.
Not to be haughtie, enuious, ill tongued, light, contentious, nor vntowardly.
To win and kepe her in her Ladies fauour, and all others.
To do the exercises meete for women, and comely, and with a good grace.
To take heede that she giue none occasion to be ill reported of.
To commit no vice, nor yet to be had in suspition of any vice.
To haue the vertues of the minde, as wisedome, iustice, noblenesse of courage, temperance, strength of the minde, continencie, sober minde, &c.
To be good and discréete.
To haue the vnderstanding being married, how to order her husbands substance, her house and children, and to play the good huswife.
To haue a sweetenesse in language, & a good vtterance to entertaine all kinde of men with communication worth the hearing, honest, applyed to time and place, and to the degree and disposition of her person, which is her principall profession.
To accompany sober and quiet maners and honesty, with a lively quicknesse of wit.
To be esteemed no lesse chaste, wise, and courteous, than pleasant, feate conceited, and sober.
Not to make wise to abhorre company and talke, though somwhat of the wantonnesse, to arise and forsake them for it.
To giue the hearing of such kinde of talke with blushing and bashfulnesse.
Not to speake words of dishonestie and bawdrie, to shewe her selfe pleasant, free, and a good fellow.

Not

Not to vse ouermuch familiaritie without measure and bridle.
Not willingly to giue eare to such as report ill of other women.
To bee heedefull in her talke that shee offend not where she ment it not.
To beware of praising her selfe vndiscretly, and of being too tedious and noysome in her talke.
Not to mingle with graue and sad matters, merrie iestes and laughing matters: nor with mirth, matters of grauitie.
To be circumspect that she offend no man in her iesting and taunting, to appeare thereby of a readie witte.
Not to make wise to know the thing ỹ she knoweth not, but with sobernesse get her estimation with that she knoweth.
Not to come on lofte, nor vse so swift measures in her dansing.
Not to vse in singing or playing vpon instruments too much demision and busie pointes, that declare more cunning than sweetenesse.
To come to daunce, or to shewe her musicke with suffring her selfe to be first prayed somewhat, and drawne to it.
To apparell her selfe so, that shee seeme not fond and phantasticall.
To set out her beautie and disposition of person with meete garments that shall best become her, but as sayningly as shee can, making semblant to bestowe no labour about it, nor yet to minde it.
To haue an vnderstanding in all thinges belonging to the Courtier, that she may giue her iudgement to commend and to make of gentlemen according to their worthinesse and deserts.
To be learned.
To be seene in the most necessarie languages.
To drawe and paint.
To daunce.
To deuise sportes and pastimes.
Not to be light of credit that she is beloued, though a man commune familiarly with her of loue.
To shape him that is ouerlawcie with her, or that hath smal respect in his talke, such an answere, that she may wel vnderstand she is offended with him.

To

To take the louing communication of a louer Gentleman in an other signification, seeking to stray from that purpose.

To acknowledge the praises which he giueth her at the Gentlemans curtesie, in case she cannot dissemble the vnderstanding of them, debasing her owne deserts.

To be heedful, and remember that men may with lesse ieopardie thriue to be in loue, than women.

To giue her louer nothing but her mind, when either the hatred of her husband, or the loue that he beareth to other, inclineth her to loue.

To loue one that she may marrie withall, being a maiden, and minding to loue.

To shew such a one all signes and tokens of loue, sauing such as may put him in any dishonest hope.

To vse a somewhat more familiar conuersation with men well growne in yeares, than with young men.

To make her selfe beloued for her deserts, amiableness, and good grace, not with any vncomely or dishonest behauiour, or slickering inticement with wanton lokes, but with vertue and honest conditions.

The finall end whereto the Courtier applyeth all his good conditions, properties, feates and qualities, serueth also for a waiting Gentlewoman to growe in fauour with her Lady, and by that meanes so to instruct her, and traine her to vertue, that she may both refraine from vice, and from committing any dishonest matter, and also abhorre flatterers, and giue her selfe to vnderstand the full trouth in euery thing, without entring into selfe liking and ignorance, eyther of other outward things, or yet of her owne selfe.

FINIS.

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